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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Angola

Luanda Radio reported on 3 November a communique from the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff which stated that since the situation in Luanda is "under control," the General Staff was ordering "the immediate confinement of all its forces and the observance of guidelines from police authorities, particularly concerning observation of the curfew." Luanda also reported that "some" UNITA generals "were in the hands of the Angolan Armed Forces" and that "talks are being held in a friendly atmosphere and without problems."

Meanwhile, UNITA radio, Voice the the Black Cockerel, has reported that "contrary to what certain news agencies have reported, UNITA President Dr. Savimbi is in Huambo." UNITA, citing what it terms "treacherous attacks against [UNITA militants in the cities of Luanda, Huambo, Lubango, Benguela, and Lobito, as well as Cuanza Norte Province," has called for the disbanding of the paramilitary Riot Police—also called "ninjas."

Liberia

The West African Peacekeeping Force, ECOMOG, issued a "stiff directive" to "all armed fighters in and around Monrovia." BBC reported that the directive warned personnel that "curfew breakers in uniform, with or without their weapons, risk being shot on sight." The directive also warned that looters would be "shot on sight," BBC reported.

Benin

Burkina Faso has called for the "immediate and systematic withdrawal" of ECOMOG forces from Liberia. Cotonou Radio reported on 2 November. Salif Diallo, Burkinabe minister of special duties at the Presidency, in Cotonou on an official visit, bearing a "special message" from President Compaore for Nicephore Soglo, current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States, said that "ECOMOG has become a force of aggression and must leave Liberia."

Cameroon**SDF Press Secretary Beaten**

AB0211195592 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 2 Nov 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Cameroon's President Paul Biya is due to be sworn in for a new term tomorrow following the elections last month in which he was declared the winner by a narrow margin. But he has got quite a few problems on his plate. The Social Democratic Front (SDF) leader, John Fru Ndi, says he was the real winner and is contesting the result in the Supreme Court. He has called for a ghost town strike in his stronghold in the Northwest Province which has been placed under a state of emergency and there have been reports of mass arrests of SDF supporters. From Yaounde, Victor Appie Ngome telexed this report:

Already today, the ghost town operation, which paralyzed the country earlier this year, is back in full force in the Western Province. All shops are closed and traffic is at a standstill. The resumption of the ghost town campaign is part of the game planned by the opposition parties that constitute the alliance for change and it includes civil disobedience, nationwide strikes, and demonstrations.

In Yaounde today, police fired teargas to disperse demonstrators carrying placards and chanting slogans, some of which said: Free the president of all Cameroonians; give us back our victory. In the meantime, violence and social tension are on the rise. Yesterday, a football match between Racing of Bafoussam, seen here as a Bamileke team; and Cannon of Yaounde, seen as a Befi team, degenerated into factional fighting. Eyewitnesses say many people were rushed to hospital with injuries inflicted by people who came to the stadium with cutlasses and catapults.

In another related incident, the press secretary of the SDF, Larry Ayong Atcho, was found beaten almost to death yesterday after he was abducted by a gang of people. Larry was returning from Douala where a taxi driver stopped him, claiming to be a SDF militant. In the taxi, they were soon joined by two armed men who drove Larry, gagged and blindfolded, to an isolated spot where they gave him the beating of his life. Larry says he overheard his assailants, who were armed with pistols and walkie-talkies, saying they had been instructed to beat but not to kill him. As a reason for beating him up, they told him: You have been running your large mouth. [end recording]

Newspaper Director Reportedly Arrested

AB0211182592 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 1 Nov 92

[Text] Tension is still high in Cameroon. This morning in Yaounde, the security forces reportedly arrested Severin Tchankou, director of the NOUVELLE EXPRESSION newspaper. Listen to the witness account of Edmond Kanguia, the editor in chief of the newspaper, who was interviewed by Omer Embenambia:

[Begin recording] [Kanguia] He was arrested this morning at about 0930 in this office while we were at work. They mistreated him, took him away, and did not want us to follow them. We think that such acts are in line with the measures adopted by presidential security agents at this time, which include arresting all the directors of publications. According to what we have learned, they are also getting ready to arrest Benjamin Zebaze of CHALLENGE HEBDO; and Pius Njawe, director of the MESSENGER.

[Embenambia] What exactly are these men accused of?

[Kanguia] As you know, we belong to the private press. We are independent journalists. Right now we are experiencing a kind of democratic transition. By using these officious police—political policemen and security forces—the government has decided to do away with the private press. This looks like democratic disorder and is unacceptable in a country that says it subscribes to the rule of law. Our director of publication has just been kidnapped—because it is one. [end recording]

Simultaneously, the preparations for Paul Biya's swearing in are going on feverishly. The ceremony is scheduled for tomorrow.

Correction: Biya Receives Elections Results

AB3110203892

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Biya Receives Election Results," published in the 30 October Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, page 3:

Second column, second paragraph, second sentence, please make read: "...objectivity despite all sorts of constraints...." correcting wording;

Third paragraph, second sentence, please make read: "...colleagues who accompanied him for the good..." adding dropped word;

Fourth paragraph, first sentence, please make read: "...was taking charge of state affairs once more for..." clearing words indistinct.

Fifth paragraph, first sentence, please make read: "...its role fully; that of regulating tension, guaranteeing social peace..." adding dropped words, clearing indistinct words.

Chad

Trade Union Federation Issues Notice for Further Strike

AB0211104092 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 31 Oct 92

[Excerpt] The showdown between the Chadian Government and the trade union leaders will certainly continue. The Chadian Trade Union Federation [UST], which had embarked on a general strike on 5 October, has just issued a strike notice that will expire on 4 November when it intends to call upon all workers to start another one-month strike. Jibril Assali, UST secretary general, states reasons for this disagreement with the government:

[Begin recording] The current general strike which we launched on 5 October and which was massively followed, will end on 4 November. In the meantime, our demands have not been met and in addition to this fact, the government has deemed it fit to suspend the activities of our trade union. We have, therefore, issued a strike notice. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Health Ministry Official on Effects of Strike

AB0211122192 Ndjamenia Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 31 Oct

[Excerpts] Chadian civil servants have been on strike for almost one month now. Undoubtedly, this is an unprecedented strike in Chad's history. What has been the real

impact of this strike on the life of Chadians? For the time being, it is difficult to assess this impact. However, we put that question to Mr. Hassan Mohamat Hassan, permanent secretary at the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, who explained how Ndjamenia Central Hospital is functioning:

[Begin recording] At Ndjamenia Central Hospital as well as in all other health establishments [words indistinct] on the functioning of all other services in the country. And as you are dealing with the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, I will first like to reassure you of something. When there is a strike and all that, minimum service must be provided. This minimum service must be provided in a number of units, like the emergency unit, the surgical block, the maternity ward, the blood bank, and the medical laboratory. [passage omitted]

Every three days, we monitor the activities of these health establishments to ensure that minimum services are being provided. For example, let me mention that on 13, 14, and 15 October, the emergency unit treated a total of 160 surgical cases and 112 medical cases and no death was reported. During those three days, the surgical block carried out 18 operations and no death was recorded. The maternity ward recorded 92 deliveries—with 31 Caesarean cases—as well as dilation and curettage operations—with one death. [end recording]

Ethiopia**Democratic Union Accepts 4 New Members***EA0211214392 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT 1 Nov 92*

[Text] The Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Union has accepted four other democratic organizations as its members. The four organizations are the Dawaro People's Democratic Movement, the (Timbaro) People's Democratic Union, the Omo People's Democratic Union and the Kebena Democratic Organization. The Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Union embraces political organizations operating in regions seven, eight, nine, 10, 11, and now it embraces 14 political organizations representing different nationality groups.

Kenya**Police Clash With FORD Supporters***AB0211215192 Paris AFP in English 0915 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 2 (AFP)—Three Kenyan school children were seriously injured when police opened fire on supporters of the Opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) at Oyugis in western Kenya on Sunday [1 November], reports reaching here said Monday.

They were later admitted to hospitals in the area, the reports said. The boys, aged between eight and 12 years, were among a crowd of FORD-Kenya supporters who had seized and threatened to burn by necklacing a woman supporter of the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) they alleged had been buying and destroying voting cards.

The Luo-speaking area is a stronghold of the FORD-Kenya chairman, former Vice-President Oginga Odinga, himself a Luo.

Two policemen, who had broken into the FORD-Kenya offices to rescue the middle-aged woman, and several other opposition supporters were also injured in the fracas.

Violence is already creeping into the unofficial campaigns for the approaching multi-party elections—the first in the country for 26 years—even before President Daniel arap Moi announces the actual date.

The previous weekend, opposition supporters hurled stones at Vice President George Saitoti during a KANU rally in Nairobi after opposition meetings were either banned or disrupted elsewhere in the country by fighting.

On Saturday, police also fought running battles with opposition supporters who tried to disrupt another KANU rally addressed by a number of cabinet ministers at Ahero in western Kenya.

Somalia**Warlords Warn UN Against Sending More Troops***AB0211184492 Paris AFP in English 1826 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[by Alexander Joe]

[Excerpt] Bardera, Somalia, Nov 2 (AFP)—As the United Nations prepares to send a new special envoy to Somalia to try to stem factional fighting and famine, two warlords have warned the world body against sending more troops.

Mohamed Said Hersi Morgan, the son-in-law of deposed dictator Mohamed Siad Barre, told journalists in this southern Somali bush town Sunday [1 November] that if U.N. forces came to Bardera they risked getting caught in crossfire.

Morgan said U.N. troops planning to deploy around the African country should wait until fighting had died down before coming to Bardera, captured three weeks ago by forces of Siad Barre's Marehan clan from the fighters of Mohamed Farah Aidid, a powerful warlord.

Echoing a similar warning over the weekend by Aidid, who said "unprecedented bloodshed" was likely if the U.N. went ahead with plans to send some 4,000 troops to guard relief operations, Morgan said: "U.N. forces will be welcome here after we have pushed Aidid back to his own territory. But if they come now they may be caught in crossfire."

Relief operations in Bardera, a key distribution center for more than 200,000 starving people, have been drastically scaled down since the upsurge in fighting.

Five hundred Pakistani U.N. troops in the capital Mogadishu since September have yet to deploy. [passage omitted]

Local SNA Committees Impose Arms Ban, Curfew*EA0211153592 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali 1700 GMT 1 Nov 92*

[Excerpt] The Somali National Alliance executive, administrative, and security committees from Jubbada Hoose have met in Kismaayo and adopted the following resolutions:

1. With effect from 1 November 1992 the carrying and possession of firearms has been banned. The police force shall take over responsibility for maintaining peace in the town.
2. A curfew has been imposed between 1900 and 0600.
3. Anyone defying the implementation of these orders and obstructing the police force from carrying out their duties will be charged with breaking the security law.
4. All security forces in this operation shall have special badges for identification purposes. [passage omitted]

Uganda

*** Mufti Says Country Possesses Muslim Majority**
92AF1223A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
25 Aug 92 p 16

[Article by Mahmud Bayyumi: "Uganda, One of Africa's Muslim Majority Countries; Saudi Support Has Contributed To Resurgence of Islamic Society in Uganda"]

[Text] Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza, the mufti of Muslims in Uganda, told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the Muslims in his country have increased in numbers and now represent 55 percent of the total population. This amounts to more than 11 million persons. The Supreme Muslim Council in Kampala receives daily reports that confirm that 75 people embrace Islam on any given day. Muslims there have become the majority after once having been a minority of no more than 8 percent of Uganda's population.

In his interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, Kakooza explained that the Arab and Islamic nations, led by Saudi Arabia, support the Muslims in Uganda by giving material assistance for the repair and construction of mosques and Islamic schools, supplying libraries with religious books, and giving their children scholarships so that they may complete their education at Islamic universities. This has led to a generation that has awakened to the Islamic call [da'wah] and who are leaders of Islamic action, whose message is carried out in fields of Islamic missionary work, jurisprudence, and education. This has also led to the development of educational curricula and to the qualifying of Islamic missionaries and teachers.

Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza said: "The goal of Muslims in Uganda is to work to achieve the perfect society, because all indicators confirm that Islam will become, in the very near future, the religion of all Ugandans."

Islam's Course

Regarding Islam's destiny in Uganda, Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza said: "Islam was the religion of the majority of Uganda's population before the colonial period of our country. However, the colonialists worked to block the path of Islamic expansion in the country and shut off Islamic education. The Islamic schools were closed, and mosques destroyed or shut down, reducing the Islamic presence in the country. Muslims became only 8 percent of the total population. They suffered from ignorance and held none of the principal positions in the country.

"With Uganda's independence on 9 October 1962, the country experienced an Islamic resurgence. Islamic associations carried out their role in areas of the call and education. These associations included the Islamic Association; the Association of Ugandan Muslims, which was established in 1966; the Kalima Islamic Association, which is a reference to King Kalima, who was the first of

Uganda's kings to embrace Islam and build mosques and Islamic schools; the Society of Religious Brothers; the Association of Mosques and Religious Schools; the Islamic Information Association; etc.

"These associations rebuilt the old mosques and constructed modern ones, concerned themselves with Islamic schools, and conducted missionary work among the infidels and non-Muslims. This helped to achieve an increase in positive results for the Islamic call, ultimately resulting in a huge increase in numbers of Muslims during the 30 years since independence. With optimism about the seriousness of the Islamic effort, I can say that Uganda will become a purely Islamic state in the next 20 years."

Regarding the role played by the Supreme Islamic Council, which he heads, Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza said: "This Islamic council was established in Kampala on 1 June 1972 to unify the efforts of Islamic associations and to spread the Islamic call. Immediately after its inception, the council established three institutes to qualify Islamic teachers and instructors of the Islamic call. It also established 10 secondary schools and a large number of Koranic schools and Koranic elementary schools.

"The leaders of Islamic action are elected by Muslims in Uganda. The head of the Islamic Council and the judges and mufti are elected. The council represents all Muslims and speaks on their behalf to the government. It handles relations with world Islamic organizations."

Saudi Support

Uganda's mufti and head of the Islamic Council added, "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia heads the list of Arab and Islamic nations that support the Islamic work in our country. Immediately after the establishment of the Islamic Council, and in cooperation with it, Saudi Arabia established 10 Islamic centers and medical clinics. Saudi support still continues, since the Islamic World League in Mecca prints translations of the Koran in the Ugandan language, in Hausa, and in English, and provides them to Islamic schools and organizations. In addition to Korans and Islamic writings, which include original versions of religious books, Saudi Arabia supports us by developing curricula for use in Islamic institutes and schools. It gives us generous scholarships to enable our sons to study in Saudi universities."

Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza continued his discussion about the role of the Islamic Council and its oversight of Muslim affairs in Uganda. "The Uganda Islamic Council is expanding the establishment of vocational training institutes, in order to teach Muslim children trades that they can use throughout their lives, so that the Islamic call does not become a burden on the missionary and education budget. It is also expanding the establishment

of relief centers for food and medicines; the opening of medical clinics, providing them with trained workers and doctors; and, the building of mosques and educational institutes. It accepts donations that support Islamic work in the country, along with the creation of an economic pillow to support these projects, including the Islamic religious trusts [awqaf]. We have been able to provide Islamic schools with some printing presses and cameras. We have established good relations with Arab and Islamic countries, in order to send missionaries and Muslims to work in Islamic organizations. We also hold periodic conferences to discuss problems faced by the Islamic effort in the country, and how to overcome them with the help of our brothers in the Arab and Islamic nations."

Regarding efforts made by Islamic organizations in Uganda to spread the Arabic language among Muslims there, Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza said, "Uganda learned Arabic when Islam entered the country. Arabic was a language in use among the people, especially in the area of commerce. It also became the language of the Islamic judiciary and of education. However, the colonialists struck a blow to Arabic by attempting to do away with Islam in the country. Despite all these attempts, Arabic has endured because it is the language of the Koran. Therefore, the Koran preserved Arabic. Moreover, Muslims in Uganda belong to the Islamic world. They also belong to Arabism. Suffice it to say that most of the African languages include many words from the immortal Arabic language."

"In light of the Islamic awakening that Uganda is experiencing, Arabic has made considerable progress because, first, it is the language of the Koran, which every Muslim is eager to memorize and recite, and because it is the language of Islamic education and culture. Moreover, most of the Islamic missionaries in our country are fluent in Arabic because they were taught at Islamic institutes and colleges in the Arab nations, especially in Saudi Arabia and al-Azhar. In addition, there are missionaries who come to us from the Arab nations. Generally, our efforts have succeeded in spreading Islam and Arabic."

Regarding certain reports that the al-Qadiyaniyah "sect" has infiltrated the Muslims in Uganda, he said: "Every Muslim knows that this sect is an apostate group from Islam. This is the consensus of Muslims everywhere. The Qadiyanists in Uganda have tried to infiltrate Islamic education and have proposed—under a purely Islamic cloak—to send us 10 teachers. However, we rejected this

and advised Muslims of the danger of attending al-Qadiyaniyah schools, because they are centers of enemies of Islam and Muslims. Ugandan Islamic organizations have been active in deterring them, and they have been invited to join the Muslims' ranks. We have been successful, thanks be to God, in convincing great numbers of them to declare their repentance and return to the Islamic fold once again. We support them with enlightened Islamic guidance and advise them of the facts of the true religion."

With regard to his view of Islam's future in Uganda, Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza said: "Islam's future in our country is auspicious. We are working in accordance with a definite plan to guide the young Muslim into acquiring technical skills in addition to Islamic studies, and to develop programs of Islamic education generally, so that Muslims will be able to take on principal positions in the country. As of now, we live in a mixed-religion society and, behind all of that, we are striving to achieve the perfect Islamic society. If we succeed in attaining this goal, then other African societies will be able to achieve this success, because Islam is the religion of the Africans. We can only reach this goal with the help of our Muslim brothers in all parts of the world."

Correcting the History of Islam

Concerning the efforts made to correct Islam's history in his country, Shaykh Husayn Rajab Kakooza said: "Islamic studies, undertaken by Muslim historians in Uganda, have confirmed that our country became aware of Islam in the first century AH, by means of Arab migrants to the countries of East Africa. A number of Muslim Arabs settled in Uganda and have spread Islam and the Arabic language in our country since that time. Therefore, these studies refute the allegations of European historians that Uganda met Islam when the Khedive of Egypt sent an expedition to discover the sources of the Nile in the 19th century. This is a huge distortion of Islam's history in our country."

"Archeologists have uncovered mosques in the country, especially in East Uganda, whose history goes back to the third century A.H. [9th century A.D.] This confirms that Islam has had a long history in our country. Ancient historical documents have also proved that Ugandan kings sent delegations to the Hijaz, requesting that missionaries be sent to spread true Islamic concepts in Uganda. Moreover, councils of ulema, which were established at mosques, were most important centers for the dissemination of Islamic culture. Religious studies were taught in Arabic, which confirms the strength of the Islamic and Arab presence in Uganda."

De Klerk on Natal Unrest, Other Issues

MB0211221692 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Interview with South African State President F. W. de Klerk by South African Broadcasting Corporation reporter Freek Robinson, NATAL WITNESS Editor David Willers, SOWETAN Editor Aggrey Klaaste, and BEELD Editor Izak de Villiers, on the "Agenda" program; recorded 'earlier today' in Johannesburg—passages published in italics in English]

[Text] [Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, welcome to the program. I would like to introduce our guests, the people who will be asking the questions with me. *First of all, we have David Willers here, to my right. He is the editor of the NATAL WITNESS. Mr. Aggrey Klaaste, who's of THE SOWETAN, also the editor. Then we have Izak de Villiers, editor of K APPORT.*

Mr. President, you will have noticed that we had a program last night on violence, and in particular, violence in Natal. We did not really reach any conclusions. Now, about the government's involvement: At the weekend we had so-called revelations over Police and Defense Force involvement in violence and in the provision of weapons. These accusations have been made in the past. Without going into detail, do you want to make a categorical statement on the government's point of view on this issue?

[De Klerk] Gladly. The government's task and goal is to end violence. We are not involved in the violence. The Police and the Defense Force's orders are to protect the lives and property of all South Africans strictly and impartially. It was our initiative which brought the Goldstone Commission into existence. We wanted a mechanism to test these allegations. If there is an element of truth in claims that individuals were involved, we are prepared to act against them, and we have done so in the past. So, I can give a categorical assurance that the government is not inciting violence. We fight it with everything at our disposal.

[Robinson] Do you have any mechanisms, apart from the Goldstone Commission, to ensure that, within the government itself, orders are carried out as issued?

[De Klerk] I have the same mechanism as any manager and any business undertaking to ensure that decisions are carried out. I have senior management, middle management, junior management; and I also have ordinary employees. We, in senior management, regularly get together; in the case of the senior security management—the Defense Force and the Police—we have the State Security Council, we have committees where security ministers are also involved. We get regular reports from them. Our decisions on security issues are taken after consultation with them. We have a good relationship.

[Robinson, interrupting] Is there a positive spirit? They are not against you?

[De Klerk] I have confidence in them. I also accept that they have confidence in me, and that they are faithful in carrying out government policy.

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, let me hand you over to David Willers, who comes from Natal, a province which is going through extreme violence.

[Willers] Mr. State President, my first question is, people like Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi speak of a civil war in Natal. Even a person like [National Peace Committee Chairman] Mr. John Hall speaks of a civil war. Do you agree that we are on the brink of civil war in Natal? Second, these steps which are being taken—the doubling of troops and the patrols along the Transkei border—do you not think they will aggravate the situation in the area? That it will bring a kind of Zulu nationalism to the fore, as well as a Xhosa nationalism?

[De Klerk] Let me begin by saying that we differ on terminology. I don't much like the term civil war. Civil war brings up an image of society being totally involved in war. I do not believe that is true of Natal. I think a large percentage of the people of Natal are not involved in it. They are on the sidelines, watching the fighting factions. So, the term is not correct. But I am not trying to claim that the situation is not very serious, and that it could not lead to a real civil war. For that reason we have for the past few months taken additional steps to try to combat and prevent the violence.

I cannot agree that because we are sending additional manpower to combat crime and prevent violence, that that will aggravate the violence. The security forces are not there to act against any political factions. They are there to act against murderers, against arsonists, against the assassins. They are there to help arrest those who are sowing death and destruction with their illegal AK-47s. They are doing this in the interests of all, whether they be Zulu or Xhosa, ANC [African National Congress] or IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] or National Party. That is the government's primary task. We have taken many innovative steps in Natal. It is a difficult province to police. We have sent in dozens of motor cycles which can go places where a truck or bakkie cannot reach. We are using new methods of aerial surveillance to monitor the security situation, to get to places more rapidly. We have increased the manpower dramatically. We are serious about ending the violence in Natal, but in the final analysis security actions cannot deal with the fundamental causes of the violence. That has to be dealt with politically. It needs reconciliation and the leadership of those whose supporters are fighting one another.

[Robinson] Could I ask Aggrey to come in on this point?

[Klaaste] Well, I would very much like to. Mr. President, it seems like not too long ago, there were polls held about the popularity amongst the people, and 70 percent of the people said they have trust in Mr. de Klerk. Not too long

ago there was a poll which said that only 27 percent [pauses], and I think the reason for that is the lack of credibility from the government side, people have lost faith. I heard you speak about Natal, Mr. President, as if the situation in other parts of the country is not as complicated as Natal, but it is. People do not understand how for instance violence could start erupting in Alexandra township when it had been quiet for some time, as if it had been deliberately orchestrated by some suspicious people (word indistinct) and the security forces.

Now the people need to be given some kind of an assurance, and I don't think it's forthcoming, Mr. President, but the government firstly is in control, and that if anybody commits any kind of crime they will be arrested and dealt with. That hasn't been forthcoming. The popularity that the government had a long time ago was because people had a suspicion that the liberation movements could not deal with the violence, they could not stop it. Now it seems like the frustration is turning to the government, that the government itself is either, as Freck says, in cahoots with these people, or cannot...

[Robinson, interrupting] I didn't say that, of course. Let's put the question to the president. Are you in control?

[De Klerk] Let me start out by saying control must be defined. Yes, we are most definitely in control. We are in control of the security situation basically in South Africa. I drove into the SABC this afternoon. The first place when a government loses control, where you won't be safe, is the public broadcasting house. We are in control, here we have three editors of newspapers. They have freedom of the press. [laughter]

[Robinson] Thank you, Mr. President.

[De Klerk] And so I can continue. While the conditions in certain areas, and specifically in certain townships, is heart rendering and totally unacceptable, generally speaking, the situation in South Africa is a far cry away from what one imagines when you are told are you in control. I can change the methods which we use. Yes, one option is we can go back to where we were in '85...

[Robinson, interrupting] State of emergency.

[De Klerk] Yes, when freedom of expression was suppressed, when what we see now was happening all the time, but beneath the surface. I don't want to go back to that situation. I believe in what we are doing. We never expected the transition to peace and to full democracy to be an easy one. We always warned it would be a bumpy ride, and we are having a very bumpy ride at the moment. But to govern is essentially to take decisions with regard to various aspects which might affect the same situation. Whatever decisions I take with regard to the security situation, affects the economy, and affects the daily lives of thousands of people. I can tomorrow call up 20,000 South Africans out of their jobs, and I'm not saying it in a threatening sense. If we want to treble suddenly the manpower on the ground, we can do it, and if it becomes necessary, we will do it, but it will disrupt the economy.

[Klrase] Mr. President, could I just ask a question, please. But if that is the case, it does seem rather peculiar that if a crime, say, is committed in a specific area, and I won't even mention the area because these things are problematic, and the officers of the law know such a thing happened there, but they take two, three, or sometimes two weeks to go and apprehend these people who have committed this particular crime. You know what that does? It tells the people that the police do not want to do something, and then they will lose respect for the law which gets to be very, very problematic.

[De Klerk] But can I just deal with some relevant facts in that regard. Firstly, because of all the mass action, every time there's mass action, you must withdraw from ordinary policing hundreds and sometimes thousands of police who must now make sure that violence won't erupt. Their whole program is disrupted by that. One third of the police force is, on average, at the moment, full time involved in preventing violence, controlling violence, watching over mass action. We could have all of them, all of them, if the political leaders got back to the table and started really negotiating, all of them back against fighting crime. But we didn't sit still and idle, because we have to manage the situation, and we increased dramatically the police force.

Over a period of two years, I think it was about 10,000 new additional men and women in the police force. We more than doubled or more or less doubled its budget in two years' time. There's not a lack of will, and sometimes, for every such an example that you can mention, there's also an example where within half an hour after a crime, the police did get there, and successfully apprehended the perpetrator. By and large, really, I think the police have been at the receiving end of a tremendous campaign, a tremendous propaganda campaign. What we need is for the total leadership to recognize that we really have only one police force, and to denigrate that police force, and to break a bond of trust between that police force and the public, is to do the country a disservice.

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, I want Izak to come in here, before we move on from violence to other issues. Izak?

[De Villiers] I don't want to get into a discussion with my colleagues, but I think it is important that the police issue is being examined. I mean the police as security people. I am fortunate to be a newspaper editor and not a policeman. I am very glad that I am not sitting somewhere at a police station, waiting to be called out at night to go and make peace between fighting factions.

I am concerned about the morale within the police force. Perhaps, Mr. President, you could tell us what the government is doing to give them the support they need, because they are standing between us and anarchy, whether we like to admit it or not. They are not angels, we know that. They are, however, between us and anarchy.

[De Klerk] I think you have put your finger on a sore point. I think many police feel hurt because they are not

receiving recognition for what they are doing. The exceptions among them, the exceptions to the rule, are used to give them a negative image, while so many of them take their lives in their hands and go in among fighting factions and, through negotiation, prevent bloodshed. As you have rightly put it, they take risks at all hours of the day and night to protect the peace. So, they deserve more understanding. The number of police who have been murdered in recent months, cold-bloodedly murdered, is worrying. We are concerned about that.

Yet, despite this the police morale is exceptionally high. I have personally spent 36 hours with the top management of the police. We discussed this problem. We discussed reorganization. We discussed what can be done to give them more effective protection, and we expect a report to be placed before the Cabinet in the near future on improved protection for the police.

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, David wants to ask another question, but let's move on to negotiations. David?

[Willers] *State President, one of the things I think that worries people about negotiations is the fact that [Constitutional Development Minister] Roelf Meyer held out the possibility that elections would only be held towards the end of next year. Don't you think that this is going to create a perception of a political vacuum, and in fact, could make the violence worse, and lead us into a spiral where the negotiations become difficult? Now I'd like to follow that up, if I may, Sir, with the question about the amnesty legislation which you've introduced, which I know is a real hot potato...*

[De Klerk, interrupting] *Let's deal first with that first question. No, I don't think that at all, because we don't envisage a year of total inactivity and then suddenly there will be an election. It will be a very full and eventful year, because that year will have to start out by reconvening Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], reconvening a multiparty conference. Negotiations will take place, there will be news every day about, hopefully, the progress which will be made. There will be in all probability a transitional executive council installed.*

Now, preparing the ground for the election, working out the rules of the election, will there be a registration process of voters, yes or no? An election doesn't fall out of the air. You must remember that about two-thirds of the population will vote in a general election for the first time. There will be all the preparations and then the run-up to the election campaign, campaigning by various parties. So, it will be a very eventful year. Registering progress, month by month, positively. So, we're not thinking about the constitutional vacuum, and then suddenly an election. Therefore, I don't share that fear.

[De Villiers] May I come in here, please. I would just like to ask: If we think that an election, any election, will end violence, then we are making the greatest mistake of our lives. People can vote, they can vote for a year non-stop. Look what's happened in Angola. A political commentator said: Let's vote and get done with it. Look how well

things are going in Angola. Now they have voted in Angola, and all hell has broken loose. So, one must be very careful, every brick must be in place before elections can take place. So, tell us Mr. President, the bricks you are busy laying—the people are uncertain about them. Can you give us some information about them?

[De Klerk] That's why I say it will take a year to get to an election, because there are many bricks to be put in place. First, the people must know under which constitution they are to vote. They will want to know what checks and balances have been built in. Many want to know whether the government of national unity which will come into power will dominate, whether there will be protection of their property rights. So, an important cornerstone must also include an agreed human rights manifesto.

[De Villiers] In other words, the checks and balances must be in place when the election...

[De Klerk] They will be in place, everyone will know the constitution, which will have to be explained to them. There will be a human rights manifesto. There will be measures to combat intimidation effectively. In my opinion the climate of violence will have to improve dramatically before we can hold free and fair elections. Everyone will also have to be involved in the preparation process and accept co-responsibility. So, the transitional council, the transitional executive council will have to be decided on. There will have to be an independent electoral commission, which can determine whether it is free and fair. So, there are many bricks which will have to be in place...

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, while on that subject, Mr. Nelson Mandela has said there will be talks on 22 November, and now there is uncertainty over whether these will be multiparty discussions or merely bilateral discussions. When will all the parties be able to get together?

[De Klerk] All our discussions—bilateral at the moment—are aimed at getting multilateral discussions going at the earliest possible moment. I don't believe multilateral discussions are possible by the 22d. Mr. Meyer said in a statement that the 22d is a date under consideration, but it is part of a whole process. Mr. Meyer and I met two prominent leaders from self-governing states today—Lebowa chief Minister Mr. Ramodike among them; we had talks with their delegations. Tomorrow I will be holding more talks. We are involved in a whole series of bilateral discussions.

At the same time there is the initiative taking place—with my full support—involving a meeting of the signatories of the Peace Accord. We are using the mechanisms we created to bring about a climate which will make it easier to resume multiparty discussions. But we also foresee important bilateral discussion with the ANC. In the meantime we are also trying to remove the stumbling blocks from, for example the IFP's side, their demands, and their views, before they will be prepared to return to

multi-party discussions. So, we must bring up the issue with them and talk to them about it.

[Robinson] David,...

[Willers] Mr. President, on the issue of amnesty, it is after all one of the bricks that has become an impediment, I think, and the question is being asked if you perhaps did not act out of character with the forcing of this law through Parliament. The process was uncharacteristic of you. You must surely have read all the criticism and so on. What is going on, Mr. President, is it perhaps because there was tremendous pressure on you from security circles or [pauses] Why did you move so fast with this law?

[De Klerk] Firstly, with no ill feelings to the remark, it is because they judged wrongly the whole motive of this law. We already have such laws in our statute book. The thousands of ANC people who have come into South Africa from outside, and who were released in the first round after an agreement which was reached in August 1990—it was basically the same legislation as this. I will point out the difference to you.

The two main differences: The foundation of amnesty or releases under the first legislation, was within rather limited guidelines, it precluded people who were guilty of very serious crimes, they did not qualify, such as murder for instance. They did not qualify under those guidelines. This new legislation says that they also, in the interest of reconciliation, where there has been a political motive, can qualify for amnesty. That is the one difference. And that was on the insistence of the ANC. It was on the ANC's insistence, and we also received requests from other sources, not from security forces.

[Willers] You differ from the ANC on exactly this. They criticize the legislation...

[De Klerk, interrupting] No, go and read the Record of Understanding once more. That was an agreement, they wanted people released, such as McBride, and my argument was: I am not prepared to use general powers on the ground for such a far-reaching step.

Secondly, I wanted the support of objective advice before I went so far as to start criticizing willy nilly such serious cases, and that brings me to the second difference. The second difference is that an amnesty council is now being introduced as against the committees which we had under the first legislation, but there is no new principle here. Without this legislation, I will not release any person, ANC or whoever, who is guilty of a serious crime. I said it before 26 September. I said it in a letter to the ANC, I said it during the talks on 26 September, and I said it at the press conference after the same talks.

[Robinson] But why does it have to through so fast? Because you did not get support from any of the parties in Parliament?

[De Klerk] It had to go through quickly because we had committed ourselves, among others, to the ANC, to get some work in this regard concluded.

[Robinson] But since they did not support it, could it not have waited?

[De Klerk] Well, the ANC does not determine when we have to do something. I want to give this assurance.

[Robinson, interrupting] But they determined the date, Mr. President...

[De Klerk, interrupting] That was arranged by agreement. It was arranged by agreement. For the sake of getting negotiations quickly back on the road, we said we were prepared to do it speedily, and you have seen that even a man such as Mr. Matthew Phosa asked that certain cases should not proceed in court pending the implementation of this law. People are playing politics around this law. This law applies to everyone equally, it was not made because the government's hands are dirty. I want to say here categorically that from 1978 I have been in the Cabinet. I was never present when a decision was taken to commit a crime.

[Willers] But why all this secrecy? Why can't we know which crimes have been committed?

[De Klerk] That is a possibility which has been added, and which we have to consider in the recommendation. There would have been, according to the law as it stands now, a publication of the name of the person who has been indemnified. No ANC member will come forward, admit that he committed a specific crime, if it is to be published later, and no IFP member will do it. And nobody will do it, because he would then become the object of tremendous intimidation and at most, will receive retribution, from whomever. It is so practical. That secrecy was there for the ANC members who returned last year under the other legislation. [a general interruption] Nothing was published about what they had done. They merely filled out a form, their names were published in the gazette in exactly the same way, and there has been no public outcry.

[De Villiers] I just want to ask a short question here. Is it true that before that meeting between you and Mr. Mandela now recently, that you were confronted with a list of names, and that those people had to be released before you got together on the Saturday? Because if it is true, then it is from ANC side. If it is not true, then I do not understand the ANC's objection.

[De Klerk] It is true that they had set specific demands, around specific individuals, and it was then that I said, whether the summit of the 26th takes place or not, and I said it in writing, I decided I could not accommodate all those cases without legislation. For that reason the government decided it will pass legislation, and it would accommodate those specific cases according to that law...

[De Villiers, interrupting] Or those that have been released?

[De Klerk] Those who have been released on parole, their parole will only get revised after that legislation has taken its course, and we have had the advantages of objective advice and analysis of a tribunal under a judge who is not politically motivated, who cannot be suspected of political motives. Can't you understand, I want to say through you to the public, that if I as political leader, according to my powers as president, give indemnity left and right, without covering my signature with objective legal advice from a judge who has no political interests in the releases, then those releases and amnesties will have no credibility. And the whole aim of the law is to create a mechanism which will in fact give the public that assurance that I am not sitting here as a politician in a dark room, and just releasing and indemnifying at random, but that each one goes through a sift, through a legal test, through objective analysis. It is good law to do what we're doing...

[Willers, interrupting] But justice must be seen to be done, Mr. President...

[De Klerk] But that is how justice will be seen to be done. Justice is not seen to be done always in the sense that everything is public. There are certain rules, for instance, when evidence is given in camera for good reasons. And there are good reasons why, if you want to clean the slate, it is necessary to—if you want people to come to the fore, so that you can close the docket and say, now that docket can be closed, that he or she won't come unless there is some form of protection built into it, and security that that won't be suicide for him or her to come to the fore.

[Robinson] Thank you. Aggrey, could I give you the opportunity, now, in our next block, when I think we should talk about solutions, actually, and the way forward. Mr. de Klerk, Aggrey Klaaste. A question from you.

[Klaaste] Yes, a very interesting assertion was made by Izak here, in terms of the bricks. Now, as we all know, the bricks are rather complex and complicated. I mean, the bilateral talks, for instance, between government and the ANC create troubles with the IFP. There is talk between the government and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], which creates trouble somewhere else. There's a problem with the homelands. I mean, it's a whole bit of a muddle, even to people who can understand these matters. Now, Mr. President, when you released Mr. Mandela and them, and you started this whole movement, you must have had a kind of a vision for this nation.

I would suggest, you know, with a great deal of presumption, that we should get out of the paradise which, I mean, is not a very difficult thing for a practicing politician to do, but to try to look at symbols outside of this problem, to look for vision which will also... [pauses] You see, if the vision comes from you, Sir, it will also affect other political leaders. It's not enough for you to say political leaders must act like political leaders. But it seems to me the country expects you to set the tone of this vision, and

to... [pauses] I mean, I'm very happy tonight to have heard that you are so confident that for instance the violence is under control, for instance, that this indemnity bill is not being pushed through, which are all troubling matters to people.

And there are more troubling matters to ordinary people in the street. What they need, I think, both black and white people, is to see a certain light at the end of this seeming tunnel. Matters, if I may just quickly go on, are getting even worse. After 1990, the Angolan war had almost come to an end. There was peace in Mozambique. These things are all coming back onto our heads. There's internal turmoil, there's external turmoil, and it seems like this country is just going from one chaos, it seems like...

[Robinson] Mr. President, the vision.

[De Klerk] Well, can I first say that the vision which I had has never changed. I still believe that we can attain exactly that which I believe has the majority support of all South Africans. It's not I that has the support, but that vision. That vision is peace. That vision is real reconciliation. That vision is a government of national unity, taking co-responsibility for getting our economy right. That vision is that economy coming right, because we have stopped the fighting and because the total responsible leadership take hands and say, first priority now is to get economic growth because that is what the people of this country need. That vision is southern Africa forming a cooperative form of working together, something like the European Community, I think less refined, but step by step moving towards that, unlocking the tremendous potential. So, I still have that vision, and I believe it is attainable, because so many people believe that vision.

And I'm not complaining. A politician must... [pauses] Cowboys don't cry. But because of that, a concerted campaign was started, specifically by the ANC, after the referendum, to try and negatively affect my credibility, and to a certain extent, I think they've had success, because I was maybe becoming too popular. But it is not about me, it is about the people of this country. What we need is—and I try to do it—is for all the political leaders to regain their vision on that vision, and to stop thinking short term, and just medium term.

South Africa, the new South Africa, will begin after the elections. It won't come to an end. The whole purpose of what we're doing is not to get power—and that, I think, is the fundamental mistake, that people are fighting to get the power, instead of realizing that there's a moment of truth in our history where we must say, let us work out a game plan, how we can all become part of the solution. And then when this country has unlocked its full potential, then we can have a democratic power struggle again, from general election to general election, for the support of the public. But first priority now is to get the hungry fed, to get the jobless a job, to drive away fear, and replace it with confidence and peace.

[Robinson] Izak, a last question, we have just about reached the end of our discussion with the state president.

[De Villiers] Aggrey has actually asked my question. Nevertheless, let me ask, what is the most important issue to you at the moment? The negotiations? From your latest Cabinet reshuffling, it seems you have put in place a team which must proceed with the negotiations. What is your priority now—the general day-to-day governing or the negotiation? In other words, are the negotiators taking the lead while the day-to-day government goes on? I would also ask you why you waited so long before putting together such a team.

[De Klerk] I've always had a negotiating team, but because of Dr. Gerrit Viljoen's illness and now his retirement, I had to make certain adjustments. I've strengthened the team somewhat, in the sense of additional manpower and easing their daily duties so that more time can be given to... [pauses] The whole Cabinet is my team, and the other part of the Cabinet is the team which has to see to daily good government. The one is not more important than the other. We must proceed with good government; we must pull the economy back onto its feet. Fortunately, the inflation rate is dropping, and I see light at the end of the tunnel. We must get the violence under control, so the security issue is just as important a priority. We must use the room that this creates to move to an accord through successful multi-party negotiations, *an understanding, an understanding which can give hope in the hearts of all South Africans*, an understanding between the leadership of this country that we will work together to pull this country back from the fire of revolution and strife, and place it on the road to real hope and growth and development, which will create opportunities for all its people.

The whole of Africa wants us to succeed. The international community wants us to succeed. We have it in us, and I intend to work harder than ever in the months ahead to get this turn-around in the whole climate so that we can concentrate on the positive instead of the negative.

I want to call on the media to help us. They do not have to hide anything, but they can help us, even in their editorials, to place the spotlight on the many positive things that are happening, because there is so much that is positive and in our favor. I feel brave about the future, and it's not a false bravery. I am not starry-eyed. I'm not naive, but I have a deep conviction that we have the ability to emerge on the other side stronger, a country which can play an important role far beyond its borders, and which can provide for its people a secure and prosperous future.

[Robinson] Mr. President, thank you very much for your participation this evening. The same to my colleagues David, Aggrey, and Izak. Thanks you all.

Deputy Minister on 'Drastic' Defense Budget Cuts
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Oct 92 pp 12, 13

[Unattributed interview with Wynand Breytenbach, deputy minister of defense and environment affairs; date and place not given]

[Text] QUESTION: The proposed drastic cuts to the defense budget for 1993-94 drew mostly negative comment from military observers. What is your reaction?

BREYTENBACH: The budget naturally still has to be approved by Cabinet and then by Parliament. Presently the [South African] Defense Force is working on guidelines, created by the Department of State Expenditure, for the 1993-94 financial year. It is, however, highly unlikely that the guidelines will be changed substantially. In the event that it is accepted, it will mean a cut of about 50 percent of the defense budget of the past five years.

We simply must accept that circumstances have changed. Five years ago, in 1987, we were in the midst of a war in south-east Angola and in the then South-West Africa. Today there are no signs of visible or foreseeable conventional threat against South Africa. It is only the unrest and instability domestically that still poses a threat.

When the Defense Force needed funds during the war, Parliament provided it and channeled funds from other projects to the defense budget. Now that the situation has changed, the priorities also changed and, therefore, the defense budget must and can be curtailed.

QUESTION: Military commentators, such as Mr Helmoed-Roemer Heitman, are concerned that the Defense Force's ability to defend the land is diminished drastically by these cuts. Your comment?

BREYTENBACH: I first want to correct a misconception. We never said that the Defense Force's capabilities would not be affected by the cuts. What was said, was that the cuts would be applied carefully so that the Defense Force will be in a position to operate under the present circumstances. Perhaps this implies a lower profile, but by no means a weaker profile. I am satisfied that the Defense Force will be able to handle the present foreseeable threat, especially with the upgraded capabilities of the Air Force. Soon, however, we will have to look at the needs of the Navy, in view of the fact that many of the ships have reached the end of their life cycle.

QUESTION: It is frequently claimed the Navy is the stepchild of the Army. How do you view that?

BREYTENBACH: The head of the South African Army, General Kat Liebenberg, has himself discussed this several times. His argument is that the threat to South Africa over the last 20 years has been shorewards. The largest part of the defense budget had, therefore, to be channeled into the Army and the Air Force. Soon after this phase was dealt with, the Army was involved in the

reparation and maintenance of law and order of internal stability which once again placed the heaviest load on the Army. The Army has, therefore, a large claim on the budget.

When the circumstances change, the priorities will probably also change, and a more prominent role will be given to the Navy.

QUESTION: Earlier you mentioned the upgrading of the Air Force. What is your comment on the controversy surrounding the new training aircraft?

BREYTENBACH: I find the spreading of certain rumors highly unsavory. It is understandable that various firms would have liked the contract and it is possible that some of them may have helped to spread the rumor. I am, nevertheless, satisfied that the Air Force and Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] projects team evaluated the different aeroplanes in a very professional manner.

The head of the Air Force, Lt. Gen. James Kriel, himself explained at a press conference recently how certain criteria are used to judge the aircraft. Several bidders did not comply with the set criteria. Because the purchase of the new training aircraft creates certain political and economic implications, the Cabinet, prompted by various institutions, will have to decide soon.

QUESTION: Negative reports about Armscor appeared recently in certain newspapers and it was announced that an investigation was launched at high level. Your comment?

BREYTENBACH: I can and will not anticipate the investigation, but want to confirm that I have the greatest respect for Armscor and their top management. Several times I have described Armscor in Parliament as one of the largest success stories of our recent history. Unfortunately, until now one could not tell the full story of how Armscor succeeded in providing the Defense Force with the necessary weaponry. I doubt also whether we will ever be able to tell it.

But I can tell you this: this story will read better than any thriller you have read. Armscor brought weaponry, spare parts, and technology—where necessary—through the most unlikely channels, countries, and methods to South Africa at a time when our survival depended on it. In all that time that thousands of transactions were clinched and weaponry and spare parts were brought from the four corners of the earth to South Africa, Armscor officials were only caught five times. Three of these can be ascribed to security breaches and in two cases we were deceived by a mediator.

Unfortunately those outside the security establishment measure Armscor by these five instances and not by the thousands of successful transactions. What makes this achievement all the more impressive is that it took place

while an obligatory arms sanction was in force and many governments and agencies did their best to wreck the transactions.

QUESTION: The cuts to the defense budget and the rationalization of the Defense Force destroys, according to military commentators, South Africa's arms industry and therefore increases the country's dependency on foreign suppliers. What is your comment?

BREYTENBACH: Almost half a century ago—47 years ago to be precise—we faced the same dilemma after the end of the Second World War.

During this war we were forced to develop and build our own weaponry. It was not as a result of an imposed arms sanction, but due to Britain's inability to provide the equipment. At that time we built up a very effective weapons industry which built, among other things, troop carriers, armored vehicles, and aircraft. Of these were provided to the Allied Forces.

After the war, expertise and ability was lost and 20 years later we were forced to rebuild the weapons industry from scratch. Now that we have entered a post-war period with the accompanying trimming of the Defense Force and the weapons industry, we must at all costs prevent that the mistakes of the past are repeated. Economic reality and the possible lifting of arms sanctions might perhaps change this situation in the future.

We must not allow expertise and the high level of technology, which was built up so carefully and with difficulty, to be lost. I repeat, we should retain the ability to arm ourselves if needed, and not allow ourselves to become totally dependent on foreign countries. This is where I'll do my bit.

QUESTION: How do you view the future?

BREYTENBACH: I am optimistic about the future. The future looks rosy. We should, nevertheless, remain alert and prepared.

I have already said that currently there exists no conventional threat against South Africa—for the first time in decades, but nothing remains static in the world of international politics. Today's ally is frequently tomorrow's enemy, and an accord that is signed solemnly today, can be torn up without ceremony tomorrow.

We should, therefore, not allow a change in the international climate to find us unprepared and resting on our laurels.

The Defense Force is entrusted with the protection of South Africa and all its inhabitants. We—that is, the politicians and the Defense Force's top structure—must therefore ensure the Defense Force is prepared and equipped in order to execute its defense task.

ANC Issues Discussion Document on Powersharing

*MB0211161392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1516 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 2 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Monday [2 November] published a document which hit the headlines at the weekend—proposing that the liberation movement share power with the National Party [NP] even after the interim period.

The discussion document on strategic perspectives, which is being circulated to all ANC regions for discussion and comment, proposes the ANC strike a deal with the NP over the transitional period.

According to the paper: "The objective reality imposes a central role for the ANC and NP in the transition. Without cooperation between these two forces it will not be possible to move the peace process forward.

"We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government of national unity—in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components. However, we also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players."

Referring to the fears of civil servants and the security forces under a new government, the document said:

"The new democratic government would need to adopt a wide range of measures to minimise the threat to the new democracy. However, some of these measures may have to be part and parcel of a negotiated settlement.

"Strategic forces we need to consider right now are the South African Defence Force, the South African Police and the civil service in general.

"If the transition to democracy affects the interests of the individual in these institutions, wholly and purely negatively, then they would serve as fertile ground from which the destabilisers would recruit.

"Not only do these forces have vast potential to destabilise a fledgling democracy in the future, but more importantly, they have the potential to delay the transition for a lengthy period of time or even make serious attempts to subvert the transition.

"It may therefore become necessary to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

According to the document, some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of a multilateral agreement. Other elements of the settlement package would be bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP.

"The thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa may be an issue on which we would enter into a bilateral agreement with the NP.

"The question of a government of national unity after adoption of a new constitution, and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service could be dealt with either as part of a bilateral agreement or could be part of multilateral agreement."

Gunmen Attack East Rand Train, Five Killed

*MB0311095592 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0801
GMT 3 Nov 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 3 SAPA—Police said five people were killed and two injured on Tuesday morning in an attack by unknown gunmen on commuters waiting at three stations on the East Rand.

Earlier, police said six people had died.

The incidents occurred between 5.30am and 7.10am at the Pilot, Lindela and Katlehong stations, Witwatersrand police spokesman Sgt Francois du Plessis said.

He said the attackers embarked on a train at Kwezini station at 5.30 am.

At Pilot and Lindela station the men, armed with Makarov pistols, jumped from two coaches and started shooting at commuters waiting on the platforms.

Two men were killed at Lindela and three more at Pilot station.

Two people were also wounded at Katlehong station after which the attackers left the station and disappeared. The injured were taken to Natalspruit Hospital.

Sgt Du Plessis said no arrests have been made and that the motive for the attack was unclear.

ANC Statement Condemns Alexandra Violence

*MB0311065392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0126 GMT 3 Nov 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 2 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region on Monday sent two regional peace monitors to Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, to help bring peace and stability to the area following an escalation of violence in the area over the weekend.

At least 11 people were killed, including children and women, when fighting broke out at an informal settlement called "Stswetla" and around the "Beirut" area.

"The ANC PWV region condemns the latest reign of terror in the township, particularly attacks against innocent babies. It is disgusting that babies who have not even begun grasping their surrounding can be subjected to atrocities of this nature.

"Society must condemn this act as totally unacceptable and outrageous and do everything in their power to ensure that such horrendous acts do not recur," said a statement by the ANC region.

ANC Youth League Members Arrested in Ciskei

*MB0311083192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0534 GMT 3 Nov 92*

[Text] East London Nov 2 SAPA—Four African National Congress [ANC] Youth League members and a member of the Congress of South African Students have been arrested in Ciskei for alleged possession of arms and ammunition, the SA Defence Force [SADF] disclosed on Monday.

Two F1 handgrenades, an RDG-5 grenade and a Slashki pistol with 18 9mm rounds were recovered from the group apparently on a mission to carry out armed attacks in Ciskei, the SADF said.

The Ciskei Joint Operations Centre in King William's Town said in a statement the homeland's Defence Force had received information about the group early on Saturday morning.

A roadblock was set up on the road between King William's Town and Stutterheim and a car carrying the men and the arms was stopped. Four men were detained.

"The Joint Operations Centre has on many previous occasions pointed out the involvement of the ANC Youth League in acts of violence in Ciskei, and the fact the organisation has direct links with Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] in the area has been confirmed," the statement said.

This latest incident confirmed the Youth League's intention to promote violence in the region, it said.

The ANC's media officer, Mr Mcebisi Bata, said the organisation had not heard of the arrests but would investigate and comment on Tuesday.

However, ANC regional vice-president Mr Andrew Hendricks earlier distanced the ANC from behaviour contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord and agreements with the government to which the organisation was bound.

He said the ANC had never denied there were MK members in Ciskei and had not denied the presence of arms caches "awaiting a decision of an interim government as to their future control".

MK was not mobilised in Ciskei, and he challenged the SADF and the police to produce proof which would secure a conviction.

The SADF was a partisan force, he charged, and was not interested in peace and stability but was trying to "prop up" Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Attempts to blame the ANC and MK for the "deteriorating situation" was part of a "propaganda war" against the organisation.

The officer commanding the SADF's Group Eight headquarters, Col Philip Hammond, dismissed the charges of partisanship, saying the SADF troops were rendering assistance to Ciskei in terms of bilateral agreements.

The SADF was committed to stability and peace and wished it for the region soon so that its soldiers could "deploy back home", he said.

Several cases had been opened relating to incidents allegedly involving MK. They would follow the normal course of law and hopefully a conviction would be secured, he said.

SAP Find Large Arms Cache in Nelspruit 1 Nov

*MB0211191292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1426 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[Text] Nelspruit Nov 2 SAPA—A tip-off from a member of the public led to the seizure of a large arms cache, hidden in the boot [trunk] of a car outside an hotel in Nelspruit in the eastern Transvaal, on Sunday [1 November].

The SAP [South African Police] special investigation team concerned with arms smuggling searched the car and found eight AK-47 rifles, nine AK-47 magazines, 256 rounds of 7.62 AK-47 ammunition, 27 rounds of VZ-26 7.62 ammunition and one VZ-26 magazine.

A 53-year-old man was detained during investigations and police learned that more people in Nelspruit were in possession of arms.

A second operation was launched and two more men, aged 35 and 27, were arrested. An AK-47 and two magazines were confiscated at a four-way stop in nearby Carino.

The SAP regional commissioner in the eastern Transvaal, Maj-Gen J.J. van Zyl, called on the public to supply the police with information which would curtail the smuggling of arms.

He said all information would be treated as confidential.

Inkatha's Buthelezi on Violence, Solutions

*MB0211135892 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1815 GMT 1 Nov 92*

[Interview with Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, by South African Broadcasting Corporation presenter Freck Robinson, in the Durban studio, on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Robinson] Forgive me, chief minister, if I put this one question to you because that has been in the news over the weekend. There were statements made by a certain Mr. Bruce Anderson that he was on a gun running racket for the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and that some of your people were trained by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. Is that true or not?

[Buthelezi] It's a lot of balderdash. It's all I can say about it. Because in the first place Mr. Bruce Anderson, you know Mr. Robinson, is a discredited man. He is the kind of person who had several, four or five passports. He had several names and so on and all of a sudden, I mean the papers published this, but suddenly because he says some nasty things about the IFP he's gained credibility overnight. I mean it's a person really who is a fraud.

[Robinson] Well let's forget him for the moment.

[Buthelezi] Yes.

[Robinson] Could I then ask you ...

[Buthelezi interrupting] I can tell you directly that we have no connection with Renamo. I met Minister Alfonso Dhlakama when he visited South Africa publicly. I have never had any dealings with him. Look, if he ...

[Robinson interrupting] You have not received weapons from Mozambique?

[Buthelezi] No, but why? We have got Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa]. If we want guns, if that is our policy, we should get guns from South Africa. It's ridiculous to suggest that guns from South Africa could be taken to Renamo and then we get them from Renamo. I mean it's ridiculous.

[Robinson] All right, let's leave that. Chief Buthelezi, can you give a very practical indication of what can be done now to resolve the violence?

[Buthelezi] I believe that, you know, the leadership on both sides, you know, should be seen to be standing together to try and defuse the violence. The problem is that from the very day, you know, when we signed the peace accord, you remember that, that very day the president of the ANC [African National Congress] said he was not disbanding Umkhonto [ANC Military Wing]. Now the recent spate of killings in this region have been carried out through AK-47 rifles and even the state president has deployed, through the Department of Defense, a lot of soldiers and other security forces on the borders, precisely because it's a fact that some people who are crossing borders from Transkei, who come in here to kill our people.

[Robinson] But since the AK-47s are available fairly freely, I understand, in South Africa, it does not necessarily mean that if the violence ...

[Buthelezi interrupting] But in this case these people were actually arrested. I mean, for instance, the person

who killed the Ndzimande family was arrested, he was a member of the 121 Battalion. He was a card carrying member and the SAP [South African Police] has arrested people who were travelling with AK-47s, with names of our leaders, with lists of our leaders whom they were going to kill. I'm not saying that, you know, only the ANC uses the AK-47, but that is an official assault rifle of the ANC and I don't think we should overlook the fact that all over they have stashed away their arms. They have no compunction about that.

[Robinson] Yes, but Chief Buthelezi, with great respect, I have asked at the beginning that we do not dwell too much on the past and they of course have similar accusations against you. What I'm asking you is what, in practical terms, can you do now on your part to try to resolve this situation?

[Buthelezi] I think that, you know, if we stop skirting issues, if we stop, for instance, trying to sweep things under the carpet as (?we) are trying to do in this interview, then something will happen. We try to do, you know, what I call a plastic surgery job, where we try to say that everything is rosy in the garden, then quite clearly we are not going to get on top of this violence. I was very heartened, you know, by the retreat that was made last week, by the peace committee and members of the ANC and a delegation from the IFP who went out to Pilgrim's Rest and then after that I was seen by Mr. John Hall, who talked to me after he had spoken to the president of the ANC, and he was seeing the state president the following day after seeing me. But you see the problem is this, that, you know, everyone is talking about, you know, the meeting of all signatories, to get together, to have a media affair where all signatories get together, is something that has not worked in the past, and quite clearly, if that is to try and avoid, you know, a face to face, eyeball to eyeball, one on one discussion between me and the president of the ANC, Dr. Mandela, and it's just not on because ...

[Robinson, interrupting] Is that what you think must take place, first and foremost?

[Buthelezi] I think that must take place, Mr. Robinson, first, because, after all, we have only had one, one meeting of that kind, and it took place here in Durban. In April last year.

[Robinson] Did you have any particular agenda for such a meeting between yourself and Dr. Mandela?

[Buthelezi] In fact, let me say Mr. Robinson, we discussed many issues. We discussed family issues, we discussed...[pauses] you know he told me on that occasion there is a third force and he wanted us to stand together to, you know, to denounce the existence of a third force and I told him that if there was evidence forthcoming from him and the ANC, that there was such a third force, I would stand with him. But then, in less than a week, then he issued that ultimatum to the

government where some of the accusations that are directed at the government were woven around attacks on the IFP.

[Robinson] Now what, in particular, do you want to discuss with him if you meet him?

[Buthelezi] Last year, Mr. Robinson, it was Dr. Mandela who suggested to me and to the state president that the three of us must go out. That was his initiative. He suggested that we should go out and address peace...[pauses] and to address, you know, peace meetings, joint peace meetings, and we both agreed, but the state president suggested that we should get together and talk, first. The three of us must get to talk.

[Robinson] Are you hopeful that that can take place now?

[Buthelezi] Well, I mean, taking my cue from the speech that he made in Port Elizabeth, it is quite clear that he has no intention of doing that, because he is still haunted by the idea that when he talks to me he elevates me to his level, which of course I don't know what he means by his level, but you know, it seems to me that he is reluctant to do that. He wants to see me as just one of many people, the many people who are not really as directly involved in the political violence as the ANC and the IFP.

[Robinson] Do you put it as an absolute demand, if we can put it that way, that you first want to have bilateral talks with him before you will get together with other leaders?

[Buthelezi] Well, Mr. Robinson, let's put it this way. When Mr. Hall came he talked about the meeting of signatories, and the state president has called for a meeting of signatories. And I said I would not before the surrogacy accusation was dealt with, and Dr. Kaunda came here and he jointly with Judge Kotze went into this affair, but President Kaunda...[pauses] ex-President Kaunda came to see me and he called me up in Johannesburg and he said let's forget about arbitration. I want to get an undertaking from you, Buthelezi, whether you are prepared to see the president of the ANC and forget about this surrogacy accusation. And I said, you know, because those people are dying in droves I was prepared not to stand on a ceremony but to see him. And I was given by Mr. Hall the impression that he had also said he was prepared to do so, but hey presto, when he got to Port Elizabeth he was a different person. He was speaking a different language altogether. So, quite clearly I am committed, you know Mr. Robinson, to the signatory meeting, but I'm not going to be pushed into it, merely because, you know, there is this conceit and arrogance, that, you know, if I talk to Dr. Mandela about deaths of people then I am being elevated to his level or that, that is the creation of a kind of troika.

[Robinson] Thank you Dr. Buthelezi.

SADF Calls Up Natal Citizen Force

MB0311105392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0811 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] Pretoria Nov 3 SAPA—Some Citizen Force and Commando units in Natal will have to be called up to increase troop levels in the strife-torn province, as announced by State President F.W. de Klerk last week.

In a statement in Pretoria on Tuesday South African Defence Force [SADF] spokesman Col John Rolt said troops were being moved into Natal in a bid to halt the violence sweeping the region.

"While every effort has been made to move from other areas, rather than to rely on calling up Citizen Force and Commando units, some units in the Natal area will have to be called up to supplement these forces".

He said some members of Natal units had already received, or were receiving, call-up instructions and would be reporting for duty in the next few days.

Col Rolt also said the army emphasised that the call up of Citizen Force and Commando units would be restricted to the minimum, but was unavoidable because of the seriousness of the violence in Natal.

"Exemptions and deferments will only be considered in extreme circumstances due to the unacceptably high level of violence in the area," he said.

Col Rolt said the SADF was not prepared to be specific about the numbers of troops which would be deployed.

Holomisa Warns of Possible RSA Coup in Transkei

MB0311064792 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0541 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] East London Nov 2 SAPA—Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa on Monday said it was possible South African troops were being deployed in Natal as a ploy to stage a coup in his homeland.

Gen Holomisa said Transkei was "following certain leads", monitoring troop movements in Natal and "deploying intelligence gathering on the border and in the Union Buildings".

He warned the "SA Defence Force [SADF] would have problems if it used those so-called border patrols as passage routes for people to come and give problems".

Gen Holomisa however conceded "the SADF has the capability (to stage a coup), let us not kid ourselves".

Last week SA Defence Minister Gene Louw alleged Transkei was providing sanctuary and training to armed Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] cadres.

Gen Holomisa earlier said he hoped the planned deployment of additional troops in Natal as announced by State

President F.W. de Klerk was not intended for "pre-emptive strikes" against "liberation movements" in his homeland.

He claimed on Monday Mr de Klerk may have panicked following allegations by former Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] official Bruce Anderson that SA Military Intelligence was involved in arming the IFP.

"Perhaps he wanted to pre-empt the impact and shift the blame to put the African National Congress in a corner," Gen Holomisa said.

CP Leader Proposes Tough Action Against ANC

MB0211172392 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans 23 Oct 92 p 5

[Article from the "Review and Comment" page: "CP Demands Crackdown on ANC." article published in English]

[Text] The State President's speeches in Parliament have revealed the innate weakness of his case vis a vis his party's relationship with its supporters, and the growing resistance across the political board to the National Party's [CP] bi-lateral agreement recently concluded with the ANC [African National Congress].

These remarks were made by leader of the Conservative Party [CP] Dr. A.P. Treurnicht in a press statement released this week at the conclusion of the State President's speeches in Parliament.

It was generally conceded that Mr. de Klerk's "keynote" addresses were damp squibs. "His speeches said nothing to anybody and pleased nobody," declared the CP leader, "least of all the back-benches of his own parliamentary caucus who seem uneasy at the NP's direction. The Conservative Party's meeting with Black national leaders, and the growing disquiet among NP rank and file confirmed at the recent NP East London congress, clearly influenced the tone and content of his addresses."

Dr. Treurnicht castigated the State President for not taking firm action against the ANC. Mr. de Klerk revealed no plans to take decisive steps against the ANC's mass action campaign, said Dr. Treurnicht. "He chided them instead of coming down on the organisation. He decried the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing MK] without doing anything about their arms caches."

"What the country needs is a crackdown on the ANC, not a plea to come to the negotiating table," stated the CP leader. "It is clear from Mr. de Klerk's parliamentary performance that he is unable to run the country. He is a only caretaker, and his "there is no alternative" approach is a dangerous excuse for his inability to counter the revolution."

Dr. Treurnicht called on the government to resign. Mr. de Klerk's words are not matched with action, he said. "His guarantees are worthless. His political integrity is in tatters. He should resign."

Figures Show 250,000 Retrenchments Since Sep 1989

MB0211141892 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Nov 92 p 1

[Report by Duma Gqubule: "250,000 Jobs Lost Due to Recession"]

[Text] The country's longest recession this century has resulted in more than 250,000 retrenchments in the non-agricultural sector since September 1989, Central Statistical Service [CSS] employment figures show.

Hardest hit was the mining and quarrying sector, where employment levels plunged by 100,000 to just over 600,000.

However, employment levels in the retail and financial sectors increased by 40,000 over the past three years.

Manufacturing employment dropped by 67,000, construction by 42,000 and electricity by 6,000, for a total of 115,000 jobs, pushing total employment in these sectors down to 2.42-million.

In the wholesale, retail and motor trade and hotels category, employment dropped by only 11,600 to 719,500, due to a 14,300 increase in employment in the retail trade. Hardest hit in the category was the wholesale trade where 19,500 jobs were lost.

However, employment at banking institutions has increased by 18,600 since the beginning of the recession.

Analysts said yesterday banking and insurance institutions had been growing over the past three years due to a proliferation of new financial products.

The CSS data accounts for a total of 3.3-million people in the formal sector of the economy. However, major sectors—like agriculture and domestic services, which together employ over 2-million people—are excluded.

SADF Allegedly Moves 32 Battalion Into Angola

MB0211124992 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 30 Oct-5 Nov 92 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Pik's Plan for Angola"]

[Text] The South African [SA] government sabotaged an imminent MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] victory in the recent Angolan elections and threatened a resumption of civil war if UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] was not accommodated in a government of national unity.

And in a series of dramatic developments that show South Africa's renewed support for UNITA, the SA Defence Force's (SADF) 32 Battalion moved into southern Angola this week in apparent anticipation of a resumption of hostilities.

In other development late yesterday, 10 SADF helicopters made their way into Angola through the Caprivi strip as a back up to 32 Battalion, and two high-ranking intelligence officers flew into Luanda.

The two officers, Jacobus Louw and Rodney Henwood, flew into Angola yesterday, ostensibly on a private visit—but are in fact in the country to establish the groundwork that a joint South African and UNITA assault force would require to topple the MPLA government if it does not accede to the demand for a government of national unity.

SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's recent shuttle diplomacy to Angola has been solely to impress on the MPLA that if it did not accept the principle of a joint MPLA/UNITA government there would be a resumption of the civil war.

A high ranking Angolan government official, Lopo do Nascimento, arrived in South Africa yesterday to deliver his administration's protest to National Party leader, F.W. de Klerk.

NEW NATION is in possession of a confidential document that was drawn up by a South African company Strategic Concepts, which details how the proposed joint governing of Angola should be implemented.

It is believed that the document was drawn up on Botha's instructions and that he subsequently submitted it to UNITA. Botha has demanded that the MPLA accept the document as well.

The document, which is entitled, "Republic of Angola—Addressing the present Impasse" outlines seven "principles" why a government of national unity is needed and what would happen if it is not achieved.

It clearly warns of civil war if the MPLA pushes for the observance of the elections results instead of adhering to the principle of a government of national unity, referred to in the document as a "Government of Transition of National Interest".

In diplomatic, but threatening language, the document argues that a government of national unity is "essential now if the country is not to collapse into civil war yet again".

It also urges that the two parties should accept the principle of a second round of elections "but leave the date of the elections undecided at this time". In between, before such an election, the country would be run by a government of national unity.

Cabinet ministers in this government would be allocated according to the pattern of electoral results, "but key ministries (both in the context of the second round

election and the national interest) with alternating MPLA/UNITA ministers/deputies," the document states.

This implies that departments such as defence, interior, information, territorial administration, finance, economic planning and justice should have an MPLA minister and a UNITA deputy on an alternating basis.

It is also believed that the document was drawn up to pre-empt the MPLA's offer to form a government of national unity, but in the context that would take into account that it had won the elections and should enjoy the privilege to appoint such a government.

It has also transpired that 15,000 mercenaries have now assembled in neighbouring Zaire where they are waiting for orders to launch an assault on President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' government. These are said to be supervised by the American Central Intelligence Agency, the British M5 as well as South African Military Intelligence.

3 November Review of Current Events, Issues

MB0311130792

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

ANC, Inkatha Battle for Power in Natal—Remarking on the fighting in Natal, Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 2 November in its page 6 editorial, says "there is no pretence anymore that this is bloodletting by supporters on the ground of both the ANC [African National Congress] and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], despite protestations of peace by their leaders." It is a "battle for power in Natal," with the ANC "challenging Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and KwaZulu government of which Chief Buthelezi is Chief Minister." THE CITIZEN is "doubtful whether troops and police will be able to put an end to the war." Mr. Mandela is encouraged to "act in the greater interests of all the people of this country and meet Chief Buthelezi to agree on peace."

BUSINESS DAY

Luanda Sheds 'Ideological Baggage'—"Luanda is no longer the pariah it once was to governments aligned with the West," states a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 3 November. "It has shed its ideological baggage. The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] is now busy converting Angola into a multiparty, market economy and last month's elections were part of that process." However, Savimbi, and his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola party, "in using armed force to disrupt the political process after losing national elections certified as free and fair by international observers," are exposing themselves to a charge of "violation of allegiance to the state, commonly known as treason."

SOWETAN

'Little Doubt' About Bush Reelection—"We have little doubt that the Republican George Bush will be reelected," declares a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 3 November. "Human nature will turn to the devil it knows rather than to one it does not know, particularly if the choice is so uncertain." "The pity is that while Bill Clinton is an unknown quantity and while he does not inspire too much confidence, he would become the new Democratic President, giving America and the world the shot in the arm that is so desperately needed economically and otherwise."

* Recent Events Spark 'Zulu Nation' Debate

* Defining Zulu Nation

93AF0097A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 2-8 Oct 92 pp 13, 15

[First paragraph is THE NEW NATION commentary]

[Text] Developments in Natal—the ongoing conflict between ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] members, the planned march on Ulundi and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to "negotiate kwaZulu out of South Africa"—have precipitated a debate over "the Zulu Nation."

Intellectuals from the province argue that although the Zulu nation—or any other nation—cannot be wished away, the tendency to define nation on the basis of an ethnic group is "a lost cause."

"A nation is defined on the basis of common traditions and values," said one University of Natal professor.

"What we see today is that different nations come together around things like religion. In that process, they leave behind their traditions to adopt new ones that automatically throw away the notion of cultural commonness."

"How far are traditions still alive and observed enough for one to be able to identify a nation through its traditions?" he asked.

Turning to the Zulu nation, the academic pointed out that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, was a Christian.

"By implication, he is bound to go against certain Zulu values. Although he still practises polygamy—which is part of the Zulu culture but anti-Christian—we cannot say he abides by all Zulu traditions."

The Zulu monarch, according to academics such as Natal University lecturer and researcher Mary de Haas, has no power.

All the political power in what is supposed to be the territory of the Zulu nation rests with the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

"And it is no secret that the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly is a creation of the National Party government and that is where it takes its orders from," said De Haas.

Another academic said many Zulus respected the king because they believed that the authority of their ancestors resided in him.

However, many were now beginning to lose faith in him.

"They are beginning to realise that nothing derives from him. If anything, he simply fits into a status quo which few support."

"As a ceremonial figure, most people still respect him, but different people within what is supposed to be one nation are going their different ways," he added.

There is an acknowledgement that belonging to one nation should not mean toeing the same political line.

But one academic said: "People need to see the king to be clearly above party politics. He must be their ombudsman. In other words, they must feel free to go to him when they feel they are not happy with the present government and they want him to do something about it."

"That is unthinkable in the case of kwaZulu. To oppose the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly amounts to opposing the monarch."

There have been strong suggestions that the Zulu king would be able to regroup the Zulu nation if he distanced himself from party politics.

De Haas argues that many of the king's followers are disturbed by his close association with Buthelezi.

"Some people are strong Zulu nationalists but would resist being put in the same basket as Inkatha supporters simply because they support the king."

The king's political stance has also lost him supporters. And De Haas believes that, given the current political climate in which he has clearly taken sides, it is unthinkable that these people would welcome him back and support him.

Academics differ on whether the political divisions within the Zulu nation threaten its future.

De Haas sees no threat to any Zulu nation. According to her, the Zulu nation, as currently defined, is a misconception.

Quoting several researchers she argues that "to call all the natives of Natal or of Zululand, 'Zulus' is incorrect."

It is of course convenient, but nevertheless, in all cases where the slightest medium of precision is required in stating exactly what one means, the term 'Zulu' proves to be a most ambiguous and exasperating instrument," she said.

Some people define the Zulu nation on the basis of those who speak Zulu. However, this definition also makes it impossible to find commonality of values enough to establish a solid nation.

One prominent Zulu leader, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, argued that it was not the desire of the Zulu nation to "return to the primitive. But we have had an intense wish to preserve what is valuable in our heritage while discarding the inappropriate and the outmoded."

It has been argued that Luthuli believed that the Zulu nation should not seek to regroup as a clan, but rather to expand in order to accommodate and be accommodated by other population groups.

For example, he noted: "From the beginning our history has been one of ascending unities, the breaking of tribal, racial and credal barriers.

"The past can not have a life sustained by itself, wrenched from the whole."

Luthuli also had a vision of one South African nation, about which he said: "There remains before us the building of a new land, a home for men who are black, white, brown, from the ruins of the old narrow groups, a synthesis of the rich cultural strain we have inherited. There remains to be achieved our integration with the rest of the continent."

Buthelezi, said to be Luthuli's disciple, differs strongly with Luthuli's approach to nationalism.

In Buthelezi's various speeches, his emphasis is clearly on a narrow, ethnic chauvinism as opposed to a broader nationalism.

In a 1976 address, Buthelezi said the following about his views on Luthuli: "I shared his dream for black fulfilment. I shared his patriotism which transcended just Zulu horizons. I was like him an African nationalist, who however, did not try to erase one's ethnic background, in order to be seen as an African nationalist par excellence."

Scholars of Zulu affairs have pointed out that several leaders of the Zulu nation gave in to both the colonial powers and the various Afrikaner regimes.

For example, Luthuli distanced himself from the Zulu Cultural Society in protest against its perceived dependence on the regime's Native Affairs Department.

* Product of Apartheid

93AF0097B Johannesburg *THE NEW NATION* in English 2-8 Oct 92 p 14

[Text] The founder of the Zulu empire, Shaka, who was assassinated after only 10 years in power, had ambitions to broaden the Zulu nation through conquest.

University of Natal lecturer Mary de Haas traces the birth of the Zulu nation to the days in which Shaka brought tribes north of the Tugela river together to form a tribe.

Before Shaka, she said, some of these tribes were living under tribal authorities of their own.

After Shaka's death and after Dingane's failure to consolidate the empire, several tribes went back to the authority of their old or new rulers.

Some of these tribes, she argues, cannot be regarded as Zulus per se.

Identifying the Zulu nation through language or through today's borders would therefore be inaccurate, she says.

"Historically, the Zulu nation was a political entity under a king. It was all those people who gave allegiance to the Zulu king."

After the civil war in Zululand, the Zulu nation started falling apart. Two rival factions emerged, she said. After that war, the British colonisers—who steered the fighting—demoted the king of the Zulus to the status of a paramount chief.

The Zulu monarchy only re-emerged in the 1960s and was reconstituted by the National Party government when the homeland policy was introduced.

"What they did was to constitute something for kwa-Zulu, which is not the same as the Zulu nation. kwa-Zulu—and any other homeland—is based on reserve land, land which was reserved for African occupation," she said.

Some deny that kwaZulu is a product of apartheid. However, De Haas points out that kwaZulu today is very different from Zululand historically.

This is backed up by the fact that the homeland is made up of pockets of land on the peripheries of so-called white land.

"It would not make sense, also, for the king of the Zulus to claim land which he knows does not historically belong to what is supposed to be Zululand," she said, referring to areas which during the days of Shaka were not part of the Zulu empire.

* Inkatha's Influence

93AF0097C Johannesburg *THE NEW NATION* in English 2-8 Oct 92 pp 14-15

[Text] Instead of unifying the Zulu nation, the emergence of Inkatha in 1976 as a Zulu cultural group with political agendas divided it even further.

Initially, many were confused as to whether Inkatha was a cultural or a political organisation. When it was

formed, Inkatha relied heavily on the support of tribal chiefs since its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is himself a traditional leader.

The chiefs were assured that the organisation would not dilute their powers. In a short space of time, thousands of Zulus joined Inkatha in the understanding that they were joining a group that stood by their values as an ethnic group.

Despite having been a member of the ANC [African National Congress] Youth League and having done his articles with former Communist Party member and lawyer Rowley Arenstein, Buthelezi is understood to have been a driving force behind Inkatha's conservative stance.

It is believed that Buthelezi's ambition to become a tribal chief was behind this. He had feared that his involvement in student politics at Fort Hare University as well as his membership of the ANC Youth League could jeopardise his chances of becoming a tribal chief.

In 1953 he became an acting chief. Four years later, he was installed by the National Party government as the chief of the "Buthelezi Tribe."

When the ANC was banned in 1960, Buthelezi faced the choice of following the role determined for tribal chiefs by Verwoerd's introduction of apartheid or following the route of resistance to apartheid colonialism.

He eventually allowed himself to become leader of the Zulu tribal authorities.

However, he won some support when he justified taking part in apartheid structures to prevent the regime appointing a stooge to take his place.

Refusing independence for kwaZulu also won him approval. But some fellow tribal chiefs and the government were displeased by this and the regime was ready to replace him with a chief who would readily accept independence.

To this end, the government tried to create an executive role for the Zulu king. This was intended to oust Buthelezi from his leadership position within the Zulu tribal hierarchy.

At this point an opposition party known as Mkhonto ka Shaka emerged. This enjoyed the king's support because it promised him wider powers.

It has been suggested that this party was formed under government auspices in an attempt to unseat Buthelezi.

But this only drove Buthelezi further to the right as he moved to compromise with the apartheid state.

It was not only his refusal of independence that drove the apartheid state to plot to oust him. He also sinned by reviving the ANC colours in the country through Inkatha. Inkatha's flag was nothing but an ANC banner.

Some historians argue that some strategists of the regime were comfortable with Inkatha's adopting of the ANC flag. They were confident that ANC support within the country would drift to Inkatha, which was being built as a government ally.

Others were particularly disturbed by continued remarks that Buthelezi had symbolically taken over from Chief Luthuli—who was ANC president throughout the 1960s. Buthelezi also took part in events such as funerals of respected ANC leaders such as founder member Selby Msimang.

As his differences with the ANC leadership in exile and in prison began to surface in the late 1970s, Buthelezi suggested that Inkatha was structured on the ideals propounded by the ANC's founders in 1912.

He insisted that it was the ANC leadership in the 1950s that deviated from the organisation's original ideals by allowing communists into its ranks.

Faced with increased opposition in Natal—including some from within the Zulu tribal hierarchy—Buthelezi attempted to gain some support by opening membership of Inkatha to people other than Zulus, with little success.

He also used methods such as forcing people to acquire Inkatha membership; before they could open businesses in kwaZulu. Teachers and other government servants were forced to join the then cultural group.

With the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, he claimed Inkatha had more than a million members. However, sources said the membership register had not been audited for years.

The formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] were seen as threats to Inkatha's power base, particularly in Natal.

Inkatha formed the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) to counter Cosatu. The UDF, on the other hand, was countered through state-sponsored violence in Natal.

In 1990, Inkatha was relaunched as a political party and became known as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). It opened membership to whites and moved to open branches in areas other than Natal.

It wasn't long before violence was exported from Natal to the Reef, in particular, where the IFP was forcefully trying to introduce itself to the public.

However, the use of violence, as well as Buthelezi's emphasis on "Zuluness," has confused several observers as to his real motives.

Some have suggested that he is confused about whether to try to build Inkatha into a national political organisation or one with a regional and ethnic base.

His ambition would certainly be to upgrade Inkatha into a national political party, but it has been clear to him that this cannot be achieved in a near future. Hence he has recently concentrated on issues relating to the Zulu nation, and kwaZulu, in particular.

Buthelezi also insists on a federal system of government in the post-apartheid era. This has been seen as a desperate move to secure some role for himself in Natal, his traditional power base.

In a bid to extend his support base, Buthelezi has been seen more often with King Goodwill Zwelithini. He has also appeared on public platforms putting positions on the king's behalf.

He stayed away from Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] demanding that the king be given equal status with other participants.

He accompanied the king at FW de Klerk's meeting to discuss federalism.

A number of political blunders over the past few years have cost Inkatha dearly. Chief among these is the organisation's role in violence.

The Inkathagate scandal, which exposed secret government funding for Inkatha activities, also had an adverse effect on its popularity.

Due to undisclosed internal squabbles, Inkatha has lost the support of respected figures such as Fort Hare University rector Sibusiso Bhengu and Institute for Multi-Party Democracy director Oscar Dhlomo.

Dhlomo is believed to have been angered by Buthelezi's close ties with the South African government, for he believed that Inkatha should go it alone.

However, credible politicians such as national chairperson Frank Mdlalose and acting secretary-general Ben Ngubane remain in the party.

* Eskom, Denel Chairman Discusses Economic Issues

93AF0078A Johannesburg PARTNERSHIP in English
Sep 92 pp 78-81

[Interview with John Maree, chairman of Eskom and Denel, by Ciaran Ryan: "Winning Through"; place and date not given; first paragraph is PARTNERSHIP introduction]

[Text] South Africa will emerge with a sensible economic framework, says John Maree. The international community is settling conditions under which it is prepared to invest, and this will mould the economic future.

Dr John Maree is one of South Africa's leading businessmen. He is chairman of Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission], South Africa's electricity utility, which produces 60 percent of the power generated on the African continent. Since 1985 he has been engaged in a

far-reaching programme to transform Eskom into a viable and profitable commercial enterprise. It is now not only profitable, but committed to reducing the cost of electricity by 20 percent in real terms over the next five years, signifying a major assault on the country's inflation rate. Under Maree's chairmanship, Eskom has committed itself to a major electrification programme which will bring electricity to three million homes, benefiting 27 million people, over the next five years.

Maree is also chairman of Denel (Pty) Ltd, the newly formed commercial wing of Armscor [South African Armaments Corporation], the state corporation charged with securing arms and equipment for the country's defence force and police. Cessation of hostilities in Namibia has forced the corporation to modify part of its manufacturing capability for non-military production.

Maree serves on the State President's Economic Advisory Council and is non-executive chairman of banking and financial services group, Nedcor. He is also a director of some of South Africa's largest enterprises, such as Barlow Rand, Old Mutual and the Development Bank of Southern Africa. He spoke to Ciaran Ryan on some of the pressing issues facing South African politicians, business leaders and investors.

RYAN: YOU WEAR SEVERAL DIFFERENT HATS IN INDUSTRY. COULD YOU OUTLINE SOME OF THE LIKELY SCENARIOS, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, THAT FACE SOUTH AFRICA AS POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED?

Maree: The political processes which are in train, although they may be stormy and difficult at times, will move quite quickly towards a solution, probably before the end of the year. I don't mean to say that we will have a constitution in place by then. But we will have greater clarity on where we are going—whether the future government will be centralised or decentralised, and so on.

Hammering out the details will take some time, but the taking of time will be to our benefit. What happened elsewhere in Africa was a sudden change in regimes, with disastrous results. The leaders who took over in these circumstances were often inexperienced or unsophisticated.

We are in a process, not in an end state. All parties are on a learning curve. Thoughts and ideas are being modified and there is greater clarity on what is achievable and what is possible. Rhetoric and clichés are being thrown out of the window. On the far left, the concept of nationalisation is gone, the far right is also saying that it wants to be part of the political process. In the end I think we will come to sensible solutions that are workable.

Then there is the economic side, which has to support any political change that takes place. We need greater growth than we have at present. I also believe that we will get a sensible economic framework in which to operate, due largely to the international views which are being expressed regarding South Africa. They are telling

us under what conditions they are prepared to invest, and that will fashion and mould the economic future.

ARE YOU CONVINCED THAT ECONOMIC PRAGMATISM WILL PREVAIL AT THE END OF THE DAY?

Undoubtedly. We cannot achieve a growth rate of more than 3 percent per annum on our own savings. So we need other people's savings, foreign investment, funding and development assistance to achieve the kind of growth we required to resolve our problems. The very fact that we have a poor economy right now has brought greater realism to the situation. With a strong economy, political aims can be pursued without regard for the impact of these policies on the economy. This is what happened in the early days under apartheid. The government didn't really concern itself with economic objectives as the economy was strong at that time.

Future economic growth will come from two areas. Firstly, through exports of manufactured goods. South Africa's balance of payments performed well over the last few years, even under sanctions, due to the export of commodities and the increasing role of manufactured exports. The anticipated pick-up in the world economy will benefit South Africa. We are the regional power in southern Africa and that is one of our major advantages. We have not been able to play the role of a regional power because of the political situation.

We are now moving into that role with the support of other countries. The two factors contributing to this situation are the collapse of the eastern Bloc, which was a big area of support for Africa, and disenchantment among developed countries which invested in Africa. Southern Africa is turning more and more to South Africa, looking for alliances in a number of areas: technical know-how, management expertise, infrastructure and so on.

The second area from which economic growth will come is the informal sector. This is where the big job creation is possible, particularly in the black community, which has shown itself to have great entrepreneurial drive. Let us not forget that even in Germany today, most people work in small businesses.

Housing is a major priority, and so is electrification, which is of great interest to me. This will be a great economic stimulant. We will see a massive electrification drive over the next few years which will have a major impact on job creation. Studies by the University of Pretoria show that the electrification of three million homes over the next few years, benefiting about 27 million people, will create between one and two million new job opportunities.

WHAT ARE SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR ECONOMIC STRENGTHS?

Its commercial, mining, financial and industrial infrastructures are without equal in Africa. It has world-standard transport and communications networks; easy access to the region by road, rail and air and to the rest of the world by air and sea; excellent education; good medical facilities, and a large cadre of world-class managers capable of running large businesses and projects. There is also a work and honesty ethic which ensures that things are done reasonably honestly. So if you put money into South Africa, you are pretty sure it is not going to end up in someone's back pocket.

If South Africa is the financial and economic success I believe it will be, it will become the flywheel to develop the whole of southern Africa. The normalisation of relations with the rest of the world will attract a lot of money to the region that might not otherwise come here. There are many development agencies that want to see projects to stimulate development, but which do not have management support.

ISN'T THERE A DANGER THAT, AS SOUTH AFRICA IS IN TRANSITION, IMPORTANT DECISIONS WHICH NEED TO BE MADE IN ORDER TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC GROWTH NOW WILL BE DEFERRED UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE POLITICAL FUTURE IS CLEARER?

Yes. We are not going to get many important investment decisions made in 1992 because we are in a negotiating phase. This is not conducive to confidence, but I don't think we should overestimate its importance. Members of the international community are visiting here every day, they are talking, planning and preparing for the time when our political future is clarified. The process is in train. But they will not be ready to make investment decisions for a year to 18 months, and by then we will be moving into the new South Africa.

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY TO THE ARGUMENT THAT THE NATIONAL PARTY HAS COME TO THE BELATED REALISATION, AFTER MORE THAN 40 YEARS OF RULE, THAT FREE MARKETS ARE AN IMPORTANT INGREDIENT OF POLITICAL STABILITY? HAD THEY REALISED THIS FIVE YEARS AGO, WE WOULD HAVE EVOLVED AN ECONOMIC BLUEPRINT WHICH WOULD HAVE ENSURED GREATER PROSPERITY, WITHIN WHICH IT COULD NEGOTIATE A POLITICAL SOLUTION.

There is no doubt that the decisions of the past have cost us. We have lost time—we could have gone further. But we have also gained time.

The world has learned over the last five years that the command economy does not work, so at least we are not wasting our time experimenting on that track. If what was happening today was happening in pre-Thatcher times, we might have blundered down other roads which would have had to be retraced.

THERE IS A FEELING THAT FOR A SMALL GEOGRAPHICAL REGION SUCH AS SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHICH HAS MORE THAN 20 GOVERNMENTS, THERE IS TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT. IS THERE ROOM FOR ELIMINATING THE DUPLICATION OF BUREAUCRACIES, OR DOES A PARTIAL SOLUTION LIE IN CREATING A REGIONAL TRADING BLOC TO PROMOTE REGIONAL TRADE?

Southern Africa is over-governed. All the countries of the region are in need of economic growth and development.

If you look at history, the unification of Europe was led by trade, simplifying the movement of goods. I think in southern Africa's case trade will break down many of the barriers that inhibit the movement of goods and people between countries.

There are already a number of trading blocs in the region: the South African Customs Union, the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Countries that had not spoken to each other for years got together to discuss trade. In fact, in South Africa's case, it was businessmen who initiated cross-border contact, discussions and trade which is being followed up at official level.

WHAT DOES THE FUTURE LOOK LIKE FOR ARMSCOR AND ITS NEWLY-COMMERCEALISED WING, DENEL, IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF REGIONAL PEACE?

Armcor is a procurement agent for the defence force and the police. They did this by buying overseas, and locally by manufacturing in their own industries. What has been done is to take those industries and commercialise them. Armcor is still there. It still has the function of supplying equipment, but the industries have been separated out for the purposes of commercialisation. There are about 20 large factories, with very sophisticated equipment and highly trained people.

The needs of the defence force have changed. It is not going to need a lot of the high-tech equipment under conditions of peace. The challenge is to see to what extent we can convert that technology and know-how into producing commercial products and supporting the whole of South Africa's industry and economic development.

Take Atlas Aircraft, for example. It has great potential for aircraft maintenance, not only South African aircraft but from elsewhere in Africa. Instead of sending aircraft to Europe for maintenance, they can be sent here. These facilities can be very easily converted to do civilian work.

One example of where industries have been converted from military production to a civilian application is in the development of very sophisticated methods of casting. One of the factories now makes golf club heads. Another developed sophisticated methods of blasting,

and this can now be applied to mining. We are also making components for consumer products.

AS CHAIRMAN OF ESKOM, YOU INITIATED A MAJOR PROGRAMME TO PLACE THE CORPORATION ON A SOUND BUSINESS FOOTING. NOW ESKOM PLANS TO ELECTRIFY A LARGE NUMBER OF URBAN HOUSEHOLDS, A PROJECT UNPRECEDENTED IN AFRICA. HAS THE CAPITAL FOR ESKOM'S ELECTRIFICATION PROGRAMME BEEN SECURED?

Capital will have to come from commercial as well as development agency sources. We need capital with an interest sweetener. The World Bank priorities for South Africa are housing, education and electrification. We are in discussions with development agencies and other funding sources to secure the capital required for this programme.

COULD THE ELECTRIFICATION CONCEPT NOT BE EXTENDED, WITH ESKOM'S INTERVENTION, TO COVER THE WHOLE OF THE REGION?

I would rather see Eskom as a stimulant for electrification of the region. Eskom has the experience and knowledge for this kind of project, and this is easily transplanted to other countries. Power generation possibilities do exist in the region, but the only market for electricity is South Africa and the power must be transmitted here. There is potential for power generation in Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe; there is great hydro potential to the north. But the market for surplus power is South Africa.

Eskom has the know-how and expertise to assist power generation utilities in the region. It has been involved in the rehabilitation of the Maputo Thermal Power Station and this is the kind of project management that can be replicated elsewhere in the region.

ESKOM HAS SURPLUS CAPACITY AT PRESENT. IS THERE ANY NEED TO LOOK FOR ADDITIONAL POWER GENERATING CAPACITY IN THE REGION?

Our surplus capacity will be a medium-term phenomenon. We need to look further into the future to ensure that we will be able to meet the demands of industry and the whole country for electricity.

ESKOM IS ONE OF THE DRIVING FORCES BEHIND THE SOUTHERN AFRICA POWER GRID. HOW IS THE GRID TAKING SHAPE?

Eskom always exported power to southern Africa. You must remember, Eskom generates 60 percent of all the electricity supplied in Africa. It is one of the top five electricity utilities in the world. There are no development constraints because of electricity in South Africa. In the case of Namibia, we both import and export power. The way to go is to interconnect with the region, and the matter is receiving constant attention. Europe is completely interconnected.

But closer co-operation is not limited to electricity generation. It will come in a whole range of industries and businesses. There is enormous mining potential in the region which has remained undeveloped because of a lack of capital and management. The region has been wracked by conflict and political experimentation. There has been a distinct lack of expertise and management, and this is where South Africa's strength lies. We are getting peace in this part of the world, with the exception of Mozambique, but even here I think the conflict will be resolved. As this occurs, the opportunities multiply.

YOU SIT ON THE ECONOMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL TO THE STATE PRESIDENT. WHAT ADVICE DO YOU GIVE THE STATE PRESIDENT ON HOW TO GET THE ECONOMY BACK ON THE RAILS?

I cannot talk for the council, and would rather express my personal views. We have to keep on deregulating, freeing up the ability of people to operate. We have to formulate a very clear industrial policy and Minister Derek Keys (minister of Finance and Trade and Industry) is busy with that. We have to scale down the state's participation in the economy, and we need more private sector investment. The accent must be placed on housing and electrification, which are two major areas of economic stimulus.

And to do this we have to move away from the paternalistic attitude of the past; we have to take the community with us and allow them to participate in decisions that affect them. Housing at this point in time is bedevilled by political issues in the black areas, including unrest. These things will settle down when you get an interim government. These are all part of a transition process.

What is impressive is that where ground has been made available, people build houses for themselves. Ivory Park outside Johannesburg is a wonderful example of this.

WHERE IS THERE ROOM FOR SCALING DOWN GOVERNMENT'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE ECONOMY?

We are obviously over-governed, and we have to get a handle on the public service. We were talking just now about privatising or commercialising part of Armscor's activities. This is only one of these initiatives. Both Telkom and the Post Office have been commercialised. That's exactly what you want, to get them out from under the feet of the state.

At Eskom, for example, we started in 1986 with 66,000 people and we have trimmed this down to 45,000, yet we are producing 30 percent more electricity. We have the cheapest electricity in the world and we have brought down the cost of electricity by 13 percent over the last six years. Furthermore, we're committed to reducing the price by a further 20 percent over the next five years.

WHICH SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY WILL PERFORM BEST WHEN THE ECONOMIC UPTURN COMES, GIVEN A NORMALISATION OF POLITICAL RELATIONS?

The growth areas must be in housing and related businesses, electricity and related businesses, in education and the businesses which go around that. Those industries which supply this mass market will do well. So you are talking about food, clothing and consumer goods.

There is a lot of potential for mineral development in southern Africa. Many mines simply closed because they couldn't get power, transport, supplies and so on. Agriculture must do well because of the increased demand for food. There is a lot of potential in industries which are labour-intensive—we have abundant and cheap labour. The smokestack industries which are no longer tolerated in Europe can be accommodated in South Africa, because we are not industry-intensive and overpopulated as they are.

I believe we have immense economic opportunities, and we have the management to realise that potential.

*** Koeberg: Station Shut Down Temporarily in August**

93AF0098A Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS in English 26 Sep 92 p 17

[Text] The Koeberg nuclear power station ground to a halt for four days at the end of last month after both nuclear units developed faults.

Safety procedures clicked into place and there was no real danger of a meltdown or radio-active leakage, said Mr Don Murray, spokesman at the nuclear power station.

On August 25, the turbine on Unit 1 tripped after low oil pressure developed on the bearings. The reactor automatically tripped shortly afterwards as automatic safety procedures came on line.

The next day, Unit 2 also had to be switched off because the oil quality dropped below the required standard.

Both units were off for four days and power had to [be] drawn from the national grid to supplement the shortage due to the stoppage at Koeberg.

Unit 1 was started up again on August 30 and Unit 2 was brought back on line on September 9.

Mr Murray said safety measures at the station were of the highest possible standards and at no time was anyone in any danger.

*** Economic Relations With Taiwan Assessed**

*** Trade Status**

93AF0093A Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS* in English 25 Sep 92 p 14

[Article by Karen Sutton: "SA-Taiwanese Trade Reaches R5bn a Year"; words in boldface as published]

[Text] Two-way trade between South Africa and Taiwan has climbed above R5-billion [rand] a year and the potential exists for even greater expansion. Chairperson of the South Africa-Republic of China [ROC] (Taiwan) Chamber of Economic Relations Allen Sealey spoke to THE ENGINEERING NEWS staff writer Karen Sutton about the relationship between SA [Republic of South Africa-RSA] and its sixth largest trading partner, Taiwan.

To what extent has trade between South Africa and Taiwan increased in the last decade and what are the latest figures of trade between these two countries?

During the period 1986 to 1991, trade between the RSA and ROC grew by 254 percent; importations from ROC to South Africa grew by 290 percent, whereas exports from the RSA to ROC grew by 228 percent.

Two-way trade amounted to US\$1,727-billion.

What sections of industry have seen the greatest increases in trade?

The most important imports from ROC are: electrical machinery and parts; man-made staple fibres; man-made filaments; plastics; toys; vehicles and parts thereof; footwear.

The most important exports to ROC are: iron and steel; mineral fuels; copper and articles thereof; pulp of wood; aluminium; wool; railway locomotives; rolling stock.

What has been Taiwan's main contribution to the South African economy?

The single most important contribution by Taiwan to the economy has been investment, accompanied by capital inflow and technology transfer; the creation of employment and the training of unskilled and skilled labour.

In your view what has been the single most important factor which has attracted SA consumers to Taiwanese goods?

Competitive pricing and quality of products.

How many Taiwanese companies are there in South Africa and what is the sum total of their investment in the country? How many people do these companies collectively employ?

According to the latest information available to the Chamber, 275 Taiwanese industrialists with an estimated investment of US\$750-million and 300 individual businessmen have established themselves here, employing an estimated 45,000 workers.

What is the SA-Republic of China Chamber of Economic Relations doing to promote future investment in South African industry?

The SA-Republic of China Chamber of Economic Relations (SAROC) and its sister chamber (ROCSA) in Taipei were established in March 1980.

In tandem, both chambers promote trade, commercial, financial and industrial relations as well as advise members on trade developments and investment between our respective countries.

ROCSA and SAROC jointly sponsor conferences annually and rotate the venues between Johannesburg and Taipei. In addition to covering trade and promotion development, reviewal of trade relationships, important projects are identified for discussion.

The most recent joint conference was held in Johannesburg in April this year at which the theme was the ROC six-year development plan, which was launched by the Taiwanese government in 1991.

It aims to rectify the economic imbalances and social dislocation in that country, as a result of insufficient investment in infrastructure, software and hardware flowing from the remarkable economic growth and financial success, accompanied by a spectacular rise in the standard of living of the peoples of Taiwan. Projects under the plan, valued at US\$303-billion, include environmental protection, technology, energy exploration, industrial development, transportation and communication. Projects worth US\$190 billion have already been identified and provide many opportunities for joint ventures for South African businessmen.

The two Chambers also participate in the trade sessions at the annual Ministerial Discussions between the RSA and ROC, with a view to identifying bottlenecks and means and ways of promoting trade and investment flows.

Should South Africa play a pivotal role on the continent, are more Taiwanese goods and services likely to enter Africa through this country and what will the benefits of this be?

At the first joint conference held in Taiwan last year, following the lifting of sanctions, the pivotal role that South Africa could play as a conduit for Taiwanese goods and services into Africa was discussed.

The handling of goods at the ports and the transport thereof would enable South African companies to increase their turnover. Services such as customs clearance, provision of documents and finance would be required and companies operating in these fields will have an increased opportunity.

South African companies will also be in a position to provide after sales services.

* Taiwanese Investments

93AF0093B Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS* in English 25 Sep 92 p 16

[Article by Karen Sutton, staff writer of THE ENGINEERING NEWS: "Taiwanese Invest Less in SA" [Republic of South Africa—RSA]]

[Text] Chinese industrialists from Taiwan contribute substantially to local industries.

Chairperson of the Association of Chinese Industrialists, Chu-Chang Kan spoke to THE ENGINEERING NEWS about the economic progress made by members of the Association as well as some of the problems faced by certain companies.

"Over 40,000 jobs for local people have been created by the 276 factories operating in South Africa and the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states," says Kan. This constitutes a total of R1-billion rand of invested capital.

"Generally speaking, Chinese investments fall in the category of small and medium enterprise with 91 in clothing and knitwear, 48 in plastics, 35 in electronics, 26 in footwear and 24 in packaging.

"Their invested capital ranges from half a million rand to 50 million rand each," says Kan. He adds that most of the products are for the domestic market and other African countries while about ten clothing factories rely on the European market.

Besides export, Chinese factories contribute greatly to import substitution especially in the supply of clothing, footwear, electronics, cutlery, radios and plastic products.

Kan says that during the past three years Taiwanese industrialists invested more in Southeast Asia and mainland China and less in southern Africa.

"Although the incentives for investment offered by the South African government are still better than those of any other country, the rising labour cost and political uncertainty here deter many potential investors."

Kan says that although most members' factories are doing well, some face financial difficulty.

Reasons include insufficient market research prior to investment and the inability to expand markets due to language limitations. As a result only a small portion of their production capacity is being utilised.

Other factors include the economic recession; graduation from the old incentive scheme which provided subsidies for wage, interest and transport for a period of seven years from the establishment of a new venture. "Some companies graduated from the scheme and find it difficult to compete without those with subsidies," explains Kan.

Also the rising labour cost makes locally produced goods vulnerable to encroachment by imports. Kan adds that increasing labour problems are having a serious effect on labour intensive industries.

He concludes that the adoption of automation in lieu of labour and upgrading technology may prove more flexible.

* Trade Prospects

93AF0093C Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS* in English 25 Sep 92 p 16

[Article: "Vast Scope for Trade"]

[Text] Bilateral trade amounting to R4.6 million [rands] places Taiwan as South Africa's sixth largest trading partner, said chairperson of the South Africa-Republic of China (ROC)(Taiwan) Chamber of Economic Relations Allen Sealey at the AGM [annual general meeting] held in August this year.

He added that this only constituted 1.3 percent of the ROC's total foreign trade of \$378-billion.

Said Sealey, "There is obviously considerable scope for further increasing two way trade and with the good relations that exist between the two countries it should be possible to make further progress."

An exciting new development is the ROC's Six-Year Development Plan. Said Sealey, "The government of the ROC has decided to develop a plan of action at a cost of R810-billion in order to overcome problems such as traffic congestion, environmental pollution, the crime rate, and the lack of cultural and recreational facilities."

The government plans to address these problems through a series of public construction projects aimed at resolving current development bottlenecks and the promotion of social and economic equity, the fair distribution of the fruits of development as well as the upgrading of national quality of life.

Sealey added, "The programmes and measures identified to upgrade ROC industries and to improve economic efficiency will stimulate industrial development and promote product competitiveness in foreign markets. In addition, market diversification and promotion efforts will help ROC firms to expand their overseas markets and improve the overall national trade structure."

He added that the ROC government is encouraging foreign participation in the various projects in cooperation with local partners.

"There is no doubt that there are many opportunities for South African entrepreneurs to work through local agents. They will hear about forthcoming tenders long before the official announcement date and thus can provide their principals with details in good time to allow for the preparation of competitive bids," he says.

Angola

FAA General Staff Orders Confinement of Troops

MB0311130092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1205 GMT 3 Nov 92

["Communique" issued by the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff in Luanda on 3 November]

[Text] Serious incidents have occurred since 30 October, provoked by elements of the scrapped Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] against the institutions of our country's democratic state, which resulted in an attempt to storm the Luanda Provincial Police Command. Due to the extent of the aggression and (?intention) of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] to take power by force, the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] in allegiance to its constitutional role, cooperated with the National Police in restoring and maintaining the public order.

Now that the situation is under control in the city of Luanda, the FAA General Staff leadership orders the immediate confinement of all its forces and the observance of guidelines from police authorities, particularly concerning observation of the curfew.

Meanwhile, the following UNITA generals are with the FAA General Staff: Huambo, Renato, Benguela, (Jaulo), (Mackenzie), Zacarias, Andrade, and Bock; and UNITA brigadiers, (Lovava), Diamantino, (Lohoca), Norberto de Castro, Tadeu, and (Vilinga); as well as other officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers.

Curfew Introduced in Luanda

MB0311075992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] In Luanda a curfew has been observed since last night, and is to last from 1900 [1800 GMT] to 0600 hours [0500 GMT]. The police says this measure is aimed at ensuring order and public calm.

[Begin unidentified police officer recording] The curfew will last three days. We now appeal to complementary or auxiliary forces, who in one way or another assisted in dealing with the situation, during this period, while the curfew lasts, to remain calm and stay at home. Therefore, order and the city's public tranquility, and also order in Luanda Province, will be ensured through sovereign organs, in this instance the National Police. Any element caught contravening this measure will be punished. Once more we request, we appeal for good sense and good behavior from our residents, for in one way or another they also helped us to halt this fratricidal war. The residents should show respect for measures taken by the National Police—not only the National Police, but the organs of authority, who drew up these measures to deal with the incursion—who will also know how to take measures, for at the moment we can, with

such auxiliary forces, find a way for the police to control the situation. [end recording]

Luanda 'Calm' Overnight

MB0311065192 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] Luanda was calm during the night. Only some sporadic gunfire was heard and the police report they control the situation.

[Begin unidentified police officer recording] The city of Luanda is calm and there is no reason for the residents to be alarmed. Some National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] generals are at the moment in the hands of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] and talks are being held in a friendly atmosphere and without problems. Residents should remain calm because the situation is under control. The police are in control of Luanda Province as well as other provinces such as Benguela, Huambo and Huila. The population should not be alarmed because the situation is under control. [end recording]

Portuguese Ambassador Comments on Situation

MB0311131392 London BBC World Service
in Portuguese 2030 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Telephone interview with Antonio Monteiro, Portuguese ambassador to Angola, and observer at the Joint Political and Military Commission, in Luanda on 2 November, by Jorge Araujo, in the "Last Hour" program; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Excerpt] According to observers the Angolan capital has been transformed into another Kinshasa. There are scenes of plundering, and heavily armed civilians are going about the streets of the city. In order to have an exact picture of the current situation in the area, we recently spoke to Ambassador Antonio Monteiro, Portugal's representative in the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM].

[Monteiro] The situation at present has improved in relation to the past few hours, as the two sides agreed to a cease-fire, but there are still incidents, and this was expected as the cease-fire accord was a political accord. It was a political decision in this regard, but it was already known that there would be difficulties in the implementation of the cease-fire. This is what is happening, and currently there could be a nucleus of resistance made up of soldiers, sympathizers, or militants of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] which are out of control. There is also a concern for the fact that there are armed civilians, and actions which are totally out of control. So, the current problem is that of agitation in the social point of view. Some houses and shops have been looted, and there have been shootouts which do not seem to be controlled. The government is making great efforts in this respect, and is making appeals through the radio. I also know that the

government is trying, in some cases with UNITA's cooperation, to impose order and trying to bring calm to the city.

[Reporter] Mr. Ambassador, what are the diplomatic efforts which have been made in the past few hours in order to put an end to this wave of violence?

[Monteiro] As I have said, until last night the great concern was the cease-fire. Now we are making efforts in order to return to the normal framework, that is, the negotiating framework as stipulated in the Bicesse Accords, and through the running of the CCPM. That was not yet possible because the priority is to avoid the loss of more human lives, to impose order and security of citizens and avoid these scenes of shootouts which is almost all over. But these are very great efforts in order to, both from the military and political point of view, to return to the framework of the Bicesse Accords with the government, and UNITA, or Unavem [UN Angola Verification Mission] and the observers. The problem at the moment is on the side of UNITA, regarding its leadership. Its military personnel, those who were in Luanda, are in control of the situation

[Reporter] On this issue, are there contradictory reports on the whereabouts of Engineer Salupeto Pena, UNITA representative in the CCPM? Do you have any information on UNITA high ranking officials?

[Monteiro] I know about some of them, for instance, I know that Abel Chivukuvuku was wounded. He underwent an operation this evening. It seems the operation went well. He is recovering in the hospital. Concerning Salupeto Pena, reports say that he has been killed, but there has not been any official confirmation yet. There is also no official information regarding the whereabouts of General Ben Ben and Vice President Chitunda. There are also rumors that General Mango was wounded and the whereabouts of General Gato are not known. That is what we are concerned with at the moment, for we do not know who would be in command of the political part of UNITA. Obviously, efforts are being made in order to contact Huambo and Dr. Savimbi for a quick return to the negotiating framework.

[Reporter] Do you confirm that Dr. Jonas Savimbi is still in Huambo, contrary to certain reports that he was in South Africa?

[Monteiro] That is what I have heard, for instance a few hours ago a high ranking government official whom I spoke to told me that Dr. Savimbi is in Huambo.

[Reporter] Mr. Ambassador, has the evacuation of Portuguese citizens already begun?

[Monteiro] It has begun. I believe at the moment a C-130 aircraft, which arrived here in the middle of the afternoon, is already in the air.

[Reporter] Is there already a provisional number, concerning victims of the violence?

[Monteiro] No, there isn't, and I believe the numbers being given are just mere calculations. I believe there are many victims, and we will for sure have a very large number of victims, both those who died as well as the wounded. This just follows the natural term of events. But this was not supposed to have happened in a peace process.

Savimbi Reported in Huambo

MB0211204792 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1916 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] The city of Huambo has returned to normal following the call by the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] for a cease-fire last weekend.

Lourenco Bento [Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel correspondent in Huambo] reported this afternoon that the people are going about their normal lives and afraid of nothing else. The Angolan people are happy about this and salute UNITA President Dr. Savimbi for everything he has done for their well-being and tranquillity.

It should be noted that, contrary to what certain news agencies have reported, UNITA President Dr. Savimbi is in Huambo.

UNITA Demands Riot Police Be Disbanded

MB0211204992 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party's [MPLA-PT] warmongering acts have been unmasked yet again. The Angolan people watched in consternation over the weekend as the MPLA-PT reserve troops, the notorious Riot Police, launched treacherous attacks against National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] militants in the cities of Luanda, Huambo, Lubango, Benguela, and Lobito, as well as Cuanza Norte Province with the aim of silencing the principal source of strength of Angolan resistance against the one-party, communist regime in Luanda. War materiel such as tanks, MiG aircraft, and powerfully armed helicopters were used in the operations. This was an arsenal of weapons the like of which has never been seen with any police of the world. The Riot Police is today an honest to goodness regular army, and it must be demobilized.

UNITA, MPLA 'Trying to Negotiate'

LD0211221592 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1900 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Excerpts] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] are at the moment discussing a post-ceasefire proposal. The two sides have

accepted the need to halt the conflict but no one knows what will happen then, since the UNITA command appears to have been shattered by the death or detention of Savimbi's top men. [passage omitted]

In Luanda, the MPLA and UNITA have been trying to negotiate. The hotels still housing UNITA leaders are surrounded but despite this some of the contacts have taken place inside. RTP has details of the accord accepted by both sides. It was established in the accord that the Angolan government will use the police to protect and ensure the safety of UNITA cadres, particularly in Luanda. This is an essential point if political dialogue is to be re-activated. [passage omitted]

The government promises that it has mobilized the police to enforce public order, and says that previously armed civilians are causing some of the remaining clashes. The police are also in charge of providing escorts for the evacuation of foreigners, but the shortage of officers has prevented larger numbers of refugees from leaving Luanda, as is the case of the Portuguese. [passage omitted]

Senior UNITA Officials Reported Killed

LD0211222492 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1900 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Excerpts] The state of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in Luanda is chaotic. A door-to-door manhunt has been carried out. It has been confirmed that Salupeto Pena, Savimbi's nephew and UNITA representative in the Joint Political and Military Commission (CCPM), has been killed. UNITA Vice President Jeremias Chitunda has also been killed. It is believed they were both killed when trying to leave Luanda. UNITA says Salupeto Pena disappeared on his way to negotiations. [passage omitted]

As for Generals Ben Ben and Alicerces Mango not much is known. They have either disappeared, been arrested, or killed. As for Abel Chivukuvuku, regarded as UNITA's number three man, he was hit by gunfire while trying to escape and has undergone surgery. He has lost a leg and is believed to be in a critical state.

Situation 'Calm' in Huila Province

MB0311080992 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] In Huila Province, in the capital Lubango, the situation, at least until last night, was described as calm by our correspondent Silva Aleluia. However, despite the announcement of the cease-fire, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor's (MPLA-PT) army, the riot police, is still patrolling with the assistance of armored vehicles such as T-55 and (BP1) tanks. In order to end the clashes, a meeting was held yesterday between National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), MPLA-PT and Unavem (UN Angola Verification Mission)-2, whereby an appeal was made to

both sides to respect the cease-fire. It will be recalled that the clashes claimed many victims, above all civilians.

Government, UNITA Soldiers Clash in Luanda

MB0211200392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] The last weekend was marked by violent clashes between the National Police and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) soldiers in Luanda, Huambo, Lubango, Benguela, and Lobito may have cost the lives of more than 1,000 Angolans and foreigners. In Luanda, clashes reached levels of extreme violence, particularly those which involved [words indistinct] the UNITA provincial branch by the police. Hotel Turismo, in the lower part of Luanda, was extensively battered by light and heavy weapons. By the morning of 1 November, it showed extensive damage, and thick clouds of smoke were visible. In Hotel Turismo, one of the main buildings where UNITA officials were staying and heavily guarded by soldiers of that organization, the police faced resistance by UNITA soldiers [words indistinct].

Meanwhile, civilians, mostly youths, voluntarily allied themselves to government forces, and were principally responsible for the complete destruction of so-called UNITA pilot committees in Cazenga, Cassenda, Sao Paulo, Terra Nova Wards, among others. In the early hours today artillery and light weapons fire was still heard in the Miramar ward, where Jonas Savimbi's official residence is located, along with offices and chanceries, notably from Western countries. No official assessment has been made so far of the number of victims caused by the clashes in Luanda, but eyewitnesses say they saw countless bodies of UNITA soldiers strewn along the streets. Various reports say [words indistinct] of UNITA, while many senior UNITA political and military official are reported to have turned themselves over to the authorities, who are reported to have arrested them.

UNITA Alleges Cubans Helped MPLA in Luanda

MB0211202392 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] In the past, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) demanded rigorous control over the actual withdrawal of Cuban troops, but the world thought this was an idle claim. Reports from the Angolan capital today say Cuban troops have been fighting side-by-side [words indistinct] according to those reports, the Cuban forces have actively participated in the clashes in Luanda. They drove war tanks, (thanked) support weapons, and even (joined) the infantry forces.

Meanwhile, (Denis Meirino), the Luanda-based KUP reporter reports today there are no civilians fighting for

the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] in Luanda. (Meirino) says the situation in Luanda is serious because the MPLA-PT has brought together elite soldiers and Cuban, Katangese, and other mercenaries wearing civilian clothes.

The Futungo de Belas regime did not hesitate to attack peaceful civilians [words indistinct] and war tanks, the KUP reporter said.

Luanda Calm Despite 'Pockets of Tension'

MB0211194792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] Pockets of tension in Angola's various provinces are already under the control of the Angolan Police [words indistinct].

[Begin government official recording] Luanda is calm because [words indistinct] are under control, and some National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] generals are in the custody of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] at the moment. They are holding talks in a friendly atmosphere, without any problems, and the people must remain calm, without any problems, because the situation is under control. In concrete terms, though, despite the fact that the situation is under control, there are still some pockets of tension caused by uncontrolled elements [words indistinct] firing shots [words indistinct] Viana [words indistinct] but police [words indistinct] Luanda Province [words indistinct] Benguela Province [words indistinct] the situation is under control in Huila Province [words indistinct] under control. [end recording]

'Maximum Respect' for 'Adversaries' Urged

MB0211145992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 2 Nov 92

[“Special warning” by the Angolan Government to the Angolan people at large and the people of the city of Luanda in particular; date not given]

[Text] In view of [words indistinct] in certain parts of the city of Luanda, where exchanges of shots are taking place, and also because desperate men are making indiscriminate use of mortars and other military equipment, people at large are requested to move about as little as possible and to stay at home, unless they absolutely need to go out.

People are also strongly advised to behave in a civic manner, displaying the high principles that have always been characteristic of the Angolan people, thereby avoiding any acts that may physically harm National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] elements, granting the [word indistinct] treatment that must be granted to every citizen, irrespective of his political leanings. Thoughtless acts leading to (?careless) behavior are inadmissible at this time. No one has the authority to take the law into his own hands [words

indistinct] political adversaries must also be treated with maximum respect and understanding.

Situation in Benguela, Bie, Huambo Updated

MB0211145892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Excerpts] Shooting was heard throughout the night in Benguela last night. The brief lull was broken yet again this morning. Clashes stopped again about one hour ago. [passage omitted]

The city of Benguela has come under National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] fire over the last few hours. UNITA used war materiel removed from the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] barracks at (Catete) Ward after some 200 FAA soldiers had joined the attacking Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] soldiers. Reports reaching Radio Angola say many people were killed or wounded, though there are no official figures yet, and extensive material damage is reported too.

The latest reports from Bie Province say the UNITA forces are trying to secure positions for an eventual occupation of the city of Kuito. UNITA is reported to have a command post in the village of (Chimba-Sili), south of Kuito Airport.

Latest reports from Huambo say the city is calm and that the government and UNITA are holding talks together with UN Angola Verification Mission-2. [passage omitted]

Savimbi Leaves Huambo for 'Unknown Destination'

MB0211145192 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] South Africans still in Angola have been advised to flee the country, following repeated violations of the cease-fire. There have been further clashes between government troops and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces despite the cease-fire agreement, which was to have taken effect at midnight.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said earlier that South African nationals in Luanda were safe and that arrangements were being made to evacuate them from the city.

A spokesman for the department has said they should make their way to a South African-chartered ferry lying at anchor off Luanda. He also disclosed that the naval supply ship Tafelberg was expected to reach the Angolan port on Wednesday [4 November] to assist in evacuation operations. A Safair spokeswoman has said in Johannesburg that charter aircraft are on standby to fly South Africans out of Angola's mining areas.

Casualty figures in the fighting at the weekend are put by the Angolan authorities at more than 1,000 dead. Fighting was especially severe in Luanda and four other cities.

An unknown number of soldiers and civilians have been killed in the latest fighting, but so far there has been no confirmation from UNITA sources on the deaths of two senior members of the organization, Vice President Jeremiah Chitunda and Luanda military representative Elias Pena. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi is reported to have left Huambo in central Angola for an unknown destination.

UNITA Calls for 'Defense of Democracy'

MB0211152792 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 2 Oct 92

["Call" by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola: "Let us stand firm for the defense of democracy"]

[Text] A communist democracy cannot succeed in Angola even if it is supported by high international financiers. Only a free, tolerant, and just democracy for all, where human rights are respected and protected by government institutions, is acceptable to patriotic Angolans. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] wants to impose Communism on Angola at all costs, but [words indistinct] democracy to perpetuate oppression and genocide against Angolans, but it will not succeed because all Angolans have woken up and are determined to defend mankind's noble values.

All democrats of the world, notably those in the United States, England, France, South Africa, and other countries: Listen to the voices of reason and do not endorse an error. History will not forgive you! Any dithering, tolerance, or support for the communist MPLA-PT regime will be fatal to the real Africa of the future. Those fabricators of [words indistinct] in favor of Communism must not try to deceive the Angolan people again.

Angolan people, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] militants, men and women of good will: Let us close ranks around UNITA for the defense of our freedom and for our survival. This battle is yours, ours, and our children's, whether they be today's or tomorrow's children.

Brave soldiers of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA]: You have always been a small number defending a large majority of Angolans, but it is on your shoulders that the fate of Angola and Africa rests. There are no words to thank you. May the fatherland place your feats on golden pages. Thank you.

UNITA Says Observing Cease-Fire 'Fully'

MB0211193192 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1911 GMT 2 Nov 92

["News release" issued by Jorge Alicerces Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola information secretary in Huambo, on 2 November]

[Text] 1. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] Information Secretariat hereby states that the UNITA armed forces are fully abiding by the cease-fire accord throughout Angolan territory.

2. On the government's side, certain military units are still fighting UNITA in Luanda, Lobito, Catumbela, Benguela, and Malanje. UNITA militants and sympathizers are also being arbitrarily arrested and killed by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]. Can it be that the democracy we want to build in Angola is to be a one-party democracy?

3. The UNITA Information Secretariat hereby asks the Angolan and international communities to exert pressure on the MPLA government to respect the cease-fire accord and democratic rules.

4. The UNITA Information Secretariat hereby informs the Angolan and international communities that the MPLA officers and soldiers taken prisoner in the course of the fighting were released today, 2 November 1992, following a unilateral decision by UNITA. They were well treated. That ceremony took place on the premises of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 quarters in the city of Huambo. We demand the same treatment for UNITA prisoners.

[Issued] Huambo, 2 November 1992

[Signed] UNITA Information Secretary Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim

More UNITA Troops Surrender in Luanda

LD0211163892 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1500 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] According to information given to LUSA by police sources, troops of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] at the Hotel Tropico have surrendered to the authorities. The same source added that General Huambo is appealing to his troops to surrender, and reported that the UNITA soldiers are leaving the hotel with their hands on their heads.

Roberto Castro, the man in charge of the party's information service, is taking refuge in the Hotel Tivoli, 50 meters away, together with one of his sons, the woman in charge of the party's economic affairs [Fatima Roque], and General Tadeu.

Armed Civilians Said Hunting Down UNITA Men
*MB0211165692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1600 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[Text] Radio Mozambique has just been in contact with Luanda and learned that groups of powerfully armed civilians continue to hunt down National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] elements who have sought refuge in various parts of the Angolan capital. Those civilians, who wear red bands around their heads and are already being called fitinhas [little bands], have not heeded the call of the Angolan Presidency to cease all hostilities as of midnight today.

Radio Mozambique has also learned that Salupeto Pena and Jeremias Chitunda, both senior UNITA officials, were killed in Luanda's Sambizanga Ward as they tried to flee from the center of Luanda. They fell into an ambush carried out by armed civilians. The UNITA officials were traveling in a convoy of five civilian vehicles. They were shot or beaten to death. Abel Chivukuvuku, UNITA secretary for foreign affairs, and Alicerces Mango, UNITA secretary general, managed to escape alive. According to our sources, those two men were saved by a group of riot policemen, who even came under fire from furious civilians who wanted to lynch those senior UNITA officials.

Yesterday, Salupeto Pena and other senior UNITA officials took as hostages five ambassadors from unspecified countries, and sought refuge in the Belgian Embassy. Apparently, it was the Belgian ambassador who persuaded them to desist from such behavior and to flee from Luanda.

Luanda's jails are bursting at the seams with arrested UNITA elements. Kilandomoco, leader of the opposition Angolan Social Democratic Party; Paulino Pinto Joao, of the Angolan National Democratic Convention; and Alberto Neto, of the Angolan Democratic Party, are also in jail.

An unofficial source has told LUSA agency that UNITA Leader Jonas Savimbi has left Huambo, and may have gone to South Africa. That source said Savimbi left in an aircraft that was not intercepted by the Angolan Army. That source also said a high number of senior UNITA political and military officials have surrendered to the authorities or have been arrested in Luanda.

The Defense Ministry is currently functioning as the joint command for the Angolan Police and military forces.

Diplomats from various countries are in Luanda's Miramar ward. They have been advised to stay in the area under protection of the government forces who are now in control of the situation.

Shots continue to be heard in the lower part of the city, but calm appears to have settled over the rest of the country, with the exception of Benguela, where there

have been sporadic exchanges of fire. The Angolan Government Army has stated that the city of Benguela is under its control.

Clashes in Cazenga Ward, 300 Killed

*MB0211170092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1600 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[Text] At least 300 people have died in clashes in Luanda's Cazenga Ward, one of the city's most populous wards. One hospital called on surgeons last night to turn up for work. Though the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] had agreed under the aegis of the United Nations to suspend hostilities as of midnight, clashes have continued. Mortar shelling and shots fired by light rifles could still be heard today in the lower part of Luanda.

Savimbi Reportedly Leaves Huambo for Jamba

*MB0211171192 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1600 GMT 2 Nov 92*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is reported from Luanda that UNITA forces have regrouped in the suburb of Viana, and are preparing to use heavy artillery against the Angolan police. Government forces made it clear that they will attack Viana if necessary.

Meanwhile UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has apparently left the city of Huambo in the central midlands for the movement's military base at Jamba near the Namibian border. Heavy, unabated fighting has also been reported from Benguela. UNITA says the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] is responsible for the fighting, claiming that attacks started after UNITA had requested permission to hold a peaceful demonstration in favor of dialogue to resolve the present political crisis. This followed a countrywide military buildup and take-over of various key towns by UNITA in the aftermath of the country's first democratic elections since independence in 1975.

In the meantime, the SAS [South African Ship] Tafelberg is on its way to Luanda to pick up South African citizens stranded on a Greek hotel ship in the harbor. Many foreign nationals have already flown to the central Atlantic Ocean island of Sao Tome. South Africa's military attache in Luanda, Commandant Johan Smith, continues to monitor the situation:

[Begin Smith recording] There are still two areas in Luanda that's affected by the fighting, and it's still continuing. The government also asked the people to stay in-house and not venture out on the streets. So, the situation is still very tense, and there is a lot of sporadic shooting still, but it is far better than it was earlier today. [end recording]

Further on Situation of South Africans

MB021117492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1654 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Excerpts] Johannesburg Nov 2 SAPA—[passage omitted] South Africa's military attache in Angola, Commandant Johan Smith, said difficulties were being experienced in reaching all South African nationals in Angola, especially those in outlying areas, but as soon as contact was made they would be brought to a central point.

Between 50 and 70 South Africans were believed to be in Luanda on Monday, and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said earlier they were safe.

A South African-chartered ferry, the Mediterranean Sea, was lying at anchor off Luanda ready to take them on board. Some 12 South Africans had already boarded the ship, from which Cmdt Smith was monitoring the situation, a foreign affairs spokesman said.

The spokesman said the remaining South Africans in Angola would do well to make their way to the ferry which was lying about two kilometres off Luanda harbour.

The South African Navy replenishment ship, SAS Tafelberg, carrying two helicopters, was also making for Luanda to help stranded South Africans and bring them back to South Africa. The vessel was expected to reach the war zone by Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Charter aircraft have also been put on standby to get South Africans out of Angola's diamond mining areas, a spokeswoman for charter company Safair said in Johannesburg.

Maputo Reports UNITA Surrender 2 Nov

MB0211182492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1748 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Report from Luanda by Radio Mozambique correspondent Rosa Inguane]

[Text] National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] surrendered in Luanda today. This happened in the premises of Hotel Turismo, which was considered to be the principal UNITA headquarters. The police removed more than 200 people, men, women, and children. Some were civilians, others military. The Angolan Police also confiscated many light and heavy weapons, as well as thousands of rounds of ammunition. Seventeen people who sustained wounds in the course of clashes between UNITA military personnel and Angolan Police were taken to one of the city's hospitals. This appears to have been the epilogue of the war between the Angolan Police and UNITA, which lasted slightly more than 48 hours in the Angolan capital.

Jonas Savimbi's organization had shown no respect for the Angolan Police since the Bicesse Accords were

signed. After emerging victorious from these clashes, the Angolan Police's credibility and authority have been recognized by the Angolan people, who had lost them in view of the authorities' apparent inability to deal with constant violations by Savimbi's guerrilla forces. The situation may now be different regarding the implementation of the Bicesse Accords and the image of the Angolan state.

Going back to the prevailing situation in the Angolan capital, there are reports of clashes in Funda, some 30 km from Luanda. It is said that the police have disbanded some 500 UNITA soldiers, backed by Moroccan soldiers, who had come to the rescue of their fellow soldiers here in Luanda.

Meanwhile, there is confirmation that Salupeto Pena and Jeremias Chitunda, two senior UNITA officials, have been killed. Generals Adriano MacKenzie and Zacarias Mundove surrendered to the authorities shortly after the fighting broke out on 31 October. They are both in the hands of the government at the moment. Reports say Abel Chivukuvuku has been detained by the Angolan Police. He was wounded in the leg and arrested as he tried to flee Luanda. As for General Ben Ben, we know he is trying to flee Luanda. He is in the company of UNITA Secretary General Alicerces Mango, and General Paulo Lukamba Gato, former UNITA representative in Paris.

Some countries have begun withdrawing their citizens. Indications are that the Portuguese will be the first to leave today.

Calm is returning to Luanda. The government is expected to announce a curfew today because there are still some pockets of tension in the city. According to the Angolan Police, who have been making announcements on Radio Angola, groups of uncontrolled UNITA soldiers are carrying out acts of savagery. The Angolan Police also alert the people to criminals who are looting homes, and carrying out other acts of vandalism under cover of the situation. The Angolan Police have asked people to report such criminals.

Reports from other provinces say the situation in Luanda is being closely followed. Government and UNITA are said to have opened dialogue in Huambo and Benguela.

Foreign Envoys, U.S. Embassy Employees Detained

AU021114492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] The news agencies disseminated a report according to which the ambassadors of Bulgaria and Zimbabwe, and a large number of the U.S. Embassy in Luanda have been detained by the UNITA opposition movement. There is concern that this organization will try to use them as hostages in an attempt to secure the release of its members detained in Luanda.

Veneta Momcheva, spokesperson of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, confirmed the report and clarified what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has done in the last 24 hours:

[Begin Momcheva recording] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs rapidly activated the mechanism for clarifying the situation at the Bulgarian Embassy in Luanda and for adopting measures related to protecting the safety of our citizens in Angola. Yesterday our embassy in Luanda was surrounded, and communications were cut off. Information is being received from the CSFR Embassy in Luanda, which is located 300 meters from ours. That source confirmed the BBC report that Mr. (Ivan Kotev), the Bulgarian charge d'affaires, has been kidnapped.

Our foreign minister, Stoyan Ganev, instructed our representative at the United Nations to send letters to the president of the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general, demanding that the UN Security Council adopt the necessary measures for the safety of the Bulgarian Embassy and the security of other diplomatic representatives in Luanda, along with measures related to evacuating the personnel.

Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the embassies of the CSFR, Hungary, Russia, Portugal, and other diplomatic representations in Sofia about the situation and sought the cooperation of their countries. We are studying the possibility of evacuation by sea because the airport in Luanda is closed, making an air evacuation impossible. We will report any new information related to the lives and security of Bulgarians in Angola. [end recording]

* Portuguese Analysts View Savimbi's Defeat

93AF0068A Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 9 Oct 92
p 28

[Article by Pedro Vieira: "Savimbi Like Churchill"]

[Text] Joao Soares, leader of the PS [Socialist Party] and a member of the Lisbon Municipal Chamber, told O JORNAL three weeks ago that he was convinced that "the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] will win the elections." Now he is meditating on his mistaken assessment.

"This is a unique case in the world: a party that has governed for 15 years as a one-party dictatorship has succeeded in winning genuinely democratic elections," he told us. Soares was one of the first Portuguese politicians on the Left who established an unrestrained dialogue with the UNITA and with Jonas Savimbi and who, after two trips to Jamba, was received by Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the Futundo de Belas palace.

According to Joao Soares, who speaks with the candor of someone who roundly condemned the executions of Tito Chingundji and Wilson dos Santos, two UNITA leaders who fell from grace, "It is most important not to overdramatize things."

"This is horrible but true. Unfortunately, the deaths of these two men and of their respective families are only a minor issue," said Joao Soares, who had called attention dozens of times to the cases, specifically in September 1989, after experiencing a serious airplane accident as he was returning from Jamba. "But," he added, "as I see it, the issue is not one of responsibility for bloodshed by one side or the other."

Allowing for the difference in magnitude, he drew a parallel between Churchill, who lost the elections in England after his triumph in the Great War, and Jonas Savimbi.

"Southern Africa," he declared, "owes him something. Although I have broken off my personal relations with him, I still believe that Savimbi made a very important contribution to the political opening in Angola."

Soares even suggested that he saw in Savimbi such historic examples as Winston Churchill, and warned that "you cannot ask someone who has had such a complicated career—struggling for independence, 'duped' in the first decolonization process, standing up to pressure from the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], the Soviets, the Cubans—to understand this [defeat] immediately. To lose the elections after all this time. People know how much it costs to lose the elections here. The temptation to do something foolish is very great.

Expecting a victory for the UNITA, Joao Soares had been thinking of publishing an article, once again addressing the issue of human rights, using as a backdrop the elimination of Chingundji and Wilson. But he put it aside because "I do not like to kick people when they are down" and because now it is important "to help them understand that they have a capital there, to bolster their ego so they will not do anything foolish, and to help Savimbi solve his own problems."

Angels and Devils

Analyzing the possible reasons for the defeat, Joao Soares felt that "it worked against the UNITA that it was not simply the opposition to the dictatorial power of the single party, but was itself a power in the zones that it controlled. This enabled Jose Eduardo dos Santos to speak of the dictator of 'Jamba' and to create a mechanism that led the voters to ask themselves: Am I going to trade this dictator for someone who was also a dictator there in the other camp?"

Moreover, he added that "Savimbi opted for a populist and aggressive tone and this penalized him." Jose Lamego, who led the delegation of the Socialist International that observed the Angolan elections, used the term "guerrillheirismo" to characterize the campaign style of the UNITA leader.

Joao Soares also feels that there was "overconfidence" and there were "very few people in Savimbi's camp with

the courage to tell him what was happening," a situation that contrasted with the "very well conceived campaign of the MPLA."

"They thought it was inconceivable that they could lose," we were told by Manuel Monteiro, leader of the CDS [Center Social Democracy Party], who met with Jonas Savimbi in late August. "I put this question to them very directly," he noted.

Regarding the campaign, Monteiro pointed to two aspects that made him think. First, "it was noted that the UNITA gave priority to the 'musseques' [poor neighborhoods on the outskirts of Maputo] and not to the city proper, perhaps overlooking the MPLA's penetration in the urban centers." Second, "the idea inevitably emerged that the angels were on one side and the devils were on the other. No one spoke about the atrocities committed by the MPLA. And the UNITA was unable to react to this." Moreover, Monteiro took into account that "the media are controlled."

Concerned about the possible deterioration of the situation, Monteiro told us that "for a man like Savimbi, it must be a huge disappointment," and he recalled the prediction made to him recently by someone whom he did not wish to name: "A real blood bath is in the offing."

"I do not disavow the ties that I have always had with the UNITA," Monteiro stressed, adding: "After the election results are confirmed by the international observers and by the United Nations, I sincerely hope that whoever loses will respect their decision."

According to Vitor Ramalho, a native of Angola, adviser to the president of the Republic and one of the organizers of the First Congress of Angolan Cadres Abroad (an initiative that created the climate for the initiation of peace negotiations in May 1990), the solution to the present uncertainty in that country could come about through, among other things, the recognition at a certain point that the "opposition could have a role to play in the government."

"Incidentally," he added, "the specter of Balkanization, of never arriving at a political solution, is always a risk."

Suburban Electorate Decisive

Jaime Nogueira Pinto, a political analyst and one of the Portuguese friends of Jonas Savimbi, confessed to being "genuinely surprised" by the election results, assuming that the available data will come to be confirmed. In his opinion, "the behavior of the suburban voters was decisive."

"The MPLA campaign concentrated more forcefully on these individuals," added Nogueira Pinto, although he admitted that "the UNITA message may have alarmed them."

In any event, he noted that it was necessary to ascertain "whether or not there was fraud" that could significantly affect the outcome of the elections.

On the other hand, he criticized the system of publishing the [early] returns as "very unfortunate," creating the expectation of a speedy verification of the winners, similar to what happens in Europe or in the United States. If the results had been announced later and as a whole, as occurs in other African countries, "we would not have all this psychological destabilization," he said. Nogueira Pinto feels that the "release of those first overwhelming figures contributed to creating ill will in the UNITA."

According to Xavier de Figueiredo, a journalist who specializes in African affairs: "There is a gigantic fraud here, only partially detectable." He feels that, in a situation in which "the media were absolutely biased," the MPLA resorted to "intimidation" and also to "seduction."

"In a subtle way, the people were even led to believe that simply going into a closed voting booth would not prevent the 'quimbandas' [sorcerers] from knowing how they had voted," he said. Among the seductive tactics, he noted that the public appearances of Jose Eduardo dos Santos were frequently preceded by handouts of farm implements.

"In 17 years, we have never seen these people so helpless," Figueiredo declared, referring to the "isolation into which the UNITA has fallen." He added that "all it can do now is resort to internal pressure" and said the "situation depends on a political compromise."

* UNITA Dissidents' 'Escape' Secrets Revealed

93AF0068C Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 10 Oct 92 p 27

[Article by Coutinho Ribeiro and Filomena Fontes: "UNITA: the Secrets of the Flight of Tony and N'Zau Puna"; first paragraph is SEMANARIO introduction]

[Text] Antonio Morais, an Angolan who was an operative of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], explains how he helped Tony da Costa Fernandes and Miguel N'Zau Puna to escape from Savimbi. It is a fantastic account, reported here for the first time by SEMANARIO.

Tony da Costa Fernandes and Miguel N'Zau Puna, two of the most prominent dissident generals of the UNITA, left Angola two days apart. They entered Portugal by plane at the Faro Airport. They spent their first two nights in the Eva Hotel and from there they went to an apartment in Pedras d'el Rei and were not noted by the Portuguese secret services until four days later. From then on, with the protection of the authorities, they moved around the country until they left for the United States and France. The operation must have cost more than 30,000 contos, part of which was spent on bribes.

Preparations for their flight began in October of last year, when Jose N'Del, a former UNITA militant based in Switzerland, contacted Antonio Morais, an Angolan who is also a UNITA dissident and who lives in Vila Nova de Gaia. N'Del asked him to go to that country. They had a long discussion about the situation of the party of Jonas Savimbi and concluded that the UNITA was following a path with which they disagreed. N'Del also confided that N'Zau Puna and Tony Fernandes had become dissidents and wanted to leave Angola.

Antonio Morais was an MPLA militant for 18 years. He is a former captain in the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (the UNITA army)], a former first political commissioner in Malange, and former inspector of the discipline and control commission in Portugal. His wife was president of the LIMA (League of Angolan Women). Morais was the individual who could lead an operation that would not arouse the slightest suspicion. Morais went to Angola and succeeded in making contact with the two generals. They formed a plan. Tony da Costa Fernandes would ask for Jonas Savimbi's permission to go to London, on the pretext of undergoing medical tests. N'Zau was to go on a mission for the party in Cabinda and asked Savimbi's permission to allow his family to accompany him. Only one son remained in Jamba and presumably has been executed. Antonio Morais was waiting for Puna in Luanda. "At about 2 AM on 28 February I went to the Presidente Hotel and managed to take the general, his family, and one of the security agents to a secret location in Luanda, where we remained for 24 hours, to give us time to have photographs taken and secure the false passports," Morais explained.

The former UNITA activist hastened to explain that the escape was not sponsored by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. Hence everything was done in great secrecy. They gave a "gratuity" to an official who took it upon himself to switch off the lights in a part of the airport where a plane, chartered in Switzerland, was parked. A crew of three (a pilot, an English stewardess, and another Swiss pilot) were waiting for them. From there they flew to Algeria where they made a technical stopover. "No one got off the plane. It was a refueling stop and there was absolutely no complicity on Algeria's part," explained Antonio Morais.

No Suspicions

Once in Faro, they waited 24 hours for Tony da Costa Fernandes and Jose N'Del. Tony da Costa Fernandes then related that, while he was still in London, he had received a phone call from Savimbi, who was alarmed by the flight of N'Zau Puna. Savimbi asked Fernandes to return to Jamba immediately. Antonio Morais explained: "He agreed, in order to gain time. He was waiting for our coded message to know when he should leave for Faro." Installed in Pedras d'el Rei, the two generals became frightened and telephoned Morais at his home. An automobile with two individuals was circling their apartment. Morais went immediately to

the Algarve. "They were individuals from the Portuguese intelligence services. When I reached the apartment there were already two officers of the Portuguese services there, one of whom was actually an old acquaintance of mine."

The problems for Antonio Morais began about two months later. A UNITA commando unit surrounded his house in Gaia. Morais requested police protection and the GNR [Republican National Guard] detected two vehicles with false license plates, from the Azores, but their occupants managed to escape. Later Morais found out that the men had been sent to kill him, as well as N'Zau Puna. It was one of these men who, after he himself had also abandoned the UNITA, revealed this to Morais. The fact certainly does not seem to have shocked a man who had been at war for almost 20 years, first as a soldier of the MPLA, until the PIDE [International Police for Defense of the State] picked him up, then as a commando in the Portuguese Army, and, finally, as a captain-instructor in Savimbi's army.

Antonio Morais and his wife Fatima de Lurdes, along with the dissident generals, are now associated with the FDA (Angolan Democratic Forum), the party on whose ticket they are running for deputy.

Morais' connections appear to be of great interest to the Portuguese secret services. "For a long time they tried to find out how we entered Portugal. I never told them. I am doing so now."

* Fatima Roque Comments on Election Aftermath 93AF0068B Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese 3 Oct 92 p 5

[Interview with UNITA's Fatima Roque, by Adelino Gomes, in Luanda on 2 October 1992: "Defeat Would Be a Great Injustice"; first paragraph is PUBLICO introduction]

[Text] The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] wanted her for minister of the economy. She will probably be simply a deputy. She does not say if she would agree to take part in a government of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], particularly because she still believes that Savimbi won the election. "How is it possible that only 30 percent of the Angolans understand what has been going on for the past 17 years?" She is 41 years old. She usually lives in Portugal, where she is a professor of economics at the New University. She is preparing to go to Angola with one of her two daughters.

[PUBLICO] How does it feel to be defeated?

[Roque] I do not feel defeated yet. One reason is that I feel that we Angolans have already won. On the civic and political plane, these elections were a proof of maturity. The people of Angola have already won. In the second place, I cannot draw any conclusions based on 17 percent of the total (the official count as of yesterday afternoon when this interview took place), whether it favors the MPLA or the UNITA. If the MPLA victory is confirmed, I want it to lead

to a radical change from what this country has been for the first 17 years of its independence.

[PUBLICO] Do you believe the MPLA will do this?

[Roque] There is no alternative.

[PUBLICO] If you were invited to join an MPLA government of national unity, would you accept?

[Roque] I have absolutely no reason to think the MPLA would invite me.

[PUBLICO] But if you are invited?

[Roque] Again, you would be assuming that the MPLA will win. But if it actually wins the elections, it will all depend on a series of conditions. I have been a UNITA militant for many years. I have great admiration for the program of national reconstruction that the UNITA and its president have always defended. I am going to go back. I am totally committed to take part in the reconstruction of my country. I can do it in a university, in a company.

[PUBLICO] How did you view those 24 hours when Savimbi and his party never made any showing beyond 30 percent of the votes in the official counts (accepted by the UNITA)?

[Roque] I will be frank and give you an impolitic answer. I think it is a very great injustice. How is it possible that only 30 percent of the Angolans have understood what has been going on for these past 17 years in this country?

[PUBLICO] Could it be that they switched their support a year ago out of fear, considering the threatening rhetoric and the image that UNITA was presenting in this campaign?

[Roque] Perhaps the people did not understand the direct, frank, and open rhetoric of the president of the UNITA. Certain aspects may not have been emphasized by him in the rallies. When I returned to Portugal, for example, I noticed that people had misinterpreted what he had said. The issue of "Angolan-ness" ["Angolanidade"], for example, they understood as an indication that he was rejecting cooperation, which is obviously not the case.

[PUBLICO] I am not referring to the Portuguese, but to the Angolans. They were the ones who were voting....

[Roque] I admit that the president of the UNITA probably presented basic things in a very frontal, very forceful way, which may have bewildered people.

[PUBLICO] Is it true or not that there is very little difference today between the discourse of the UNITA and the MPLA with regard to their economic programs?

[Roque] There really is a consensus between the two major parties in identifying the problems and their solution. In the past, there was a lack of unity, there was mismanagement, and a certain incompetence, which is

not to say that the UNITA would have done any better. Today, all of us together, we have a obligation to contribute to the peace process.

[PUBLICO] One of the big unknowns in these hours that Angola is experiencing has to do with the way the UNITA will react to defeat. Can you visualize a scenario in which Savimbi will resign himself to the position, for example, of leader of the opposition in a democratic parliament of Angola?

[Roque] I have no doubts whatever. I have attended several meetings with the Political Commission of the party. This was this possibility, although it was seen as academic, because we always thought we would win. But assuming the possibility, the UNITA and its president defined, as a position, the need to take part in the process of democratizing the country, in national reconstruction, and in the reconciliation of the Angolans. It is important that the Angolans have finally found their dignity. And neither the MPLA nor the UNITA will be able to give the Angolan institutions dignity by themselves. Well, the Assembly is the best institution.

[PUBLICO] You are a candidate for the national [parliament]. Do you know if you have already been elected?

[Roque] I do not know. But if I have won, it will be a great honor for me. I will feel very proud to be a deputy in the first democratically elected parliament in Angola.

Lesotho

Official on Postponement of Elections

MB0311081692 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 0530 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] The postponed Lesotho general election will probably be held towards the end of January next year.

The chief electoral officer, Mr. (Noel Lee), said that the election had been postponed for a number of reasons, including the inexperience of computer data operators and the absence of constituency borders. The final report of the delimitation committee is expected to be released towards the end of this month.

The final voters roll will then be completed and nomination day will be held on 8 or 10 December.

Opposition Calls for End to Intimidation

MB0311104792 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English
1600 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] The leader of the United Democratic Party, Mr. C. B. Mofeli, says incidents of intimidation and harassment committed against other people during the pioneering process should be checked.

In a press statement today Mr. Mofeli said the incidents he is referring to are the attack on the reporters of Radio Lesotho and Lesotho Television, acts of vandalism against Lesotho Television's technical equipment, and the harassment of an enumerator in Buthabuthe. He pointed out that if such acts continued unchecked they will diminish the public's hope that the election process will be free and fair. He concluded by calling on the country's security forces to ensure that the elections are held under a free and fair atmosphere.

Malawi

Chihana Trial Postponed Due to Clashes

MB0211175992 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Telephone interview with Harry Chiume, lawyer for trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, in Blantyre, by Rageh Omar on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given—first paragraph is studio introduction]

[Text] There have been violent scenes today in Malawi at the sedition trial of trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, one of the most vocal advocates of multiparty rule, and a leader of the Alliance for Democracy. His trial was adjourned until tomorrow, but outside the courtroom there were clashes involving Chihana supporters, police, and members of the ruling and only Malawi Congress Party. On the line to Blantyre, Rageh Omar asked Harry Chiume, a member of Mr. Chihana's defense team, what had happened:

[Begin recording] [Chiume] Outside the Supreme Court today there was chaos. Just before half past six [0430 GMT] in the morning, the whole of the outside of the court was covered by the Malawian Pioneers and the police, and when our members started coming in the Malawian Pioneers, who had lined all around the court, started chasing them away. They gave them no chance to stay around.

[Omar] How many of your supporters were there?

[Chiume] It is very difficult to say how many because they kept coming in and as they were coming in they were being chased away. A number of them have been so severely beaten up and, you know, in fact we fear for the lives of two of them who were beaten so badly that they

even fainted and collapsed. They were then taken and thrown into a police van, and we really don't know whether they have been taken to hospital or not.

[Omar] We have heard reports that around 5,000 supporters of Mr. Chihana gathered around the court?

[Chiume] In fact there were a lot more than that because they were not just around the court, they were everywhere.

[Omar] But it seems like every time there is a court hearing to do with Mr. Chihana, his supporters are very keen to exploit the situation and inevitably things get out of hand with the police and security authorities?

[Chiume] Not at all. They have been told not to be out of hand. They sing and dance and shout, but all very peacefully. They have never been out of hand at all.

[Omar] But it sounds like things did get out hand this time, didn't they?

[Chiume] They got out of hand because the Pioneers were all out beating up our members. [end recording]

Government Denies Reports Chirwa Killed in Jail

MB0211185292 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] The Malawi Government has dismissed allegations in the foreign media that the late Orton Chirwa was murdered in prison. Addressing a press conference in Lilongwe this afternoon, the publicity secretary of the Malawi Congress Party, Honorable Dr. Pitakuti Ntaba, who is also minister of health, explained that the results of the postmortem conducted by two [word indistinct] pathologists [words indistinct] indicated that Orton Chirwa died of unknown natural causes. He said the pathologist, from the United Kingdom, was invited by the family of the late Orton Chirwa.

Honorable Dr. Ntaba described the allegations as false, irresponsible, and aimed at tarnishing Malawi's good image. Commenting on the forthcoming referendum, Honorable Dr. Ntaba said necessary measures are being taken to ensure that it is held as soon as possible.

On foreign aid, Honorable Dr. Ntaba said the government is keen to convince the Paris Club of donor nations as soon as it is convenient to [words indistinct] demands by the donors have been addressed.

Benin

Burkina Faso Calls for ECOMOG Withdrawal

AB0211221192 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] Burkina Faso has called for the immediate and systematic withdrawal of the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] from Liberia. Just a few days after President Compaore's appeal for the neutrality of the West African peacekeeping force, the authorities in Ouagadougou are going further. ECOMOG has become a force of aggression and must leave Liberia, Salif Diallo, Burkinabe minister of special duties at the presidency, said in Cotonou this afternoon. In fact, this is a special message from President Compaore. Mr. Diallo has come especially to deliver this message to Nicéphore Soglo, current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS]. Let us listen to Mr. Diallo, who is interviewed by Celestin Mara:

[Begin recording] [Diallo] We very sincerely think that the West African peacekeeping force has forgotten its role as peacekeeping force because it is fighting against one of the factions. And in so doing, it has become one of the belligerents in Liberia. We therefore hope that our heads of state will display responsibility and find a just solution to this issue. For President Compaore, it is necessary to find other formulas to separate the factions and establish an atmosphere of peace and confidence that can lead to elections.

[Mara] Mr. Minister, here you are, clearly citing President Compaore's address, which was carried by the international press, in which he called for ECOMOG's neutrality. Do you personally believe in this neutrality at a time when some states seem to be implicated in the conflict? The United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia [ULIMO] has accused your country, Burkina Faso, of helping Charles Taylor.

[Diallo] We are going to reassure you that Burkina Faso does not support any troops or give any material assistance to Mr. Taylor. In fact, at the first stage of the conflict, we did happen to help Mr. Taylor, but we later withdrew our troops; this happened two years ago. Today, Burkina Faso does not have any troops helping Mr. Taylor. We are for the withdrawal of all the foreign forces from Liberia, including ECOMOG, which, it is worth saying, has today, become a force of aggression.

[Mara] When you say that it is a force of aggression, do you really think that ECOMOG can and should withdraw at a time when Charles Taylor, himself, has not stopped fighting.

[Diallo] If you can remember, after the Yamoussoukro IV meeting, it was agreed that the various factions should encamp their respective troops. Mr. Taylor did begin adhering to the Yamoussoukro IV agreements, but

at that time ULIMO, assisted by some ECOMOG member countries, occupied the area abandoned by Mr. Taylor.

[Mara] Do you think that Blaise Compaore will succeed in convincing Nigeria, which has made the greatest contribution to ECOMOG, to leave?

[Diallo] No, I do not think it is a matter of convincing this or that person. It is a matter of taking actions, and taking into consideration the rights and the concerns of the various people. It is in this regard, that we made the suggestion [words indistinct] also put forward the suggestions and I believe that it is in discussing—as it is often said in African languages—that we can find a solution to this Liberian issue. [end recording]

Liberia

ECOMOG Issues Directive on Looters

AB0211183492 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 2 Nov 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The death toll from the resurgence of fighting in Liberia continues to rise. Four more civilians were reported to have died today as the battle continues for control of Spriggs Payne Airport. Their deaths followed the killing of five American Catholic nuns who were caught up in the battle between the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces and Charles Taylor's NPFL. Today, ECOMOG said it would shoot on sight any armed fighter found looting or breaking the curfew. From Monrovia, our West African correspondent, Ofebea Quist-Arcton, reports:

[Begin recording] The new stiff directive to all armed fighters issued by the West African [passage indistinct] have been warned that they would be arrested in and around Monrovia. Mr. Taylor's fighters mounted an assault on the Liberian capital last month followed by days of random looting and intimidation of civilians as tens of thousands of refugees fled into the city center to escape the fighting.

The anti-Taylor ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] faction and soldiers from the Armed Forces of Liberia were held responsible for the disorder in Monrovia. They had been working alongside the West African military force to help flush out Mr. Taylor's guerrillas from the swamp lands surrounding the city. People complained bitterly that the irregular soldiers were terrorizing Monrovia and begged the West Africans to clear them off the streets. But the regional force battling to defend the city was clearly having difficulty trying to maintain control in Monrovia. The Liberian Army commander denied that his men were looting and harassing civilians. However, a Defense

Ministry spokesman admitted they were taking disciplinary measures against the culprits.

The West African force has gone one step further with an ultimatum to all armed fighters who are not soldiers as the regional military coalition: Curfew breakers in military uniform with or without their weapons risk being shot on sight. Looters will suffer the same fate. Monrovia have been urged to report any such incidents to the military police of the West African forces. [end recording]

Nigeria

Railroad Corporation Workers Begin Strike 2 Nov
AB0311131392 Paris AFP in English 2002 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] Lagos, Nov 2 (AFP)—Workers of the Nigeria Railway Corporation (NRC) Monday protested against the non-payment of six-month salary arrears, the official News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) reported. The aggrieved workers locked up their offices, barricaded the main entrance to the railway compound and marched round the premises, singing war songs, NAN said.

Anti-riot policemen, armed with tear gas canisters, were seen standing at strategic positions, the agency said.

The strike action began last Friday [30 October] when the workers were told that salary payment for the month of May, which was to begin on that day, would only be to certain categories of NRC workers.

This decision angered workers at the corporation's headquarters who disrupted payment of salaries to the selected group of workers. They also accused the NRC management of discriminating against workers at the headquarters.

The company pays about 17 million naira (850,000 dollars) in monthly wages to its workers, NAN concluded.

The recurring issue of unpaid salaries and allowances of rail workers has been a regular cause of paralysis of railway services in Nigeria, especially in the last four years.

Senegal

Nationalists Warn Tourists To Avoid Casamance
LD0311091992 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] In Senegal, the Casamance Democratic Forces Movement (MFDC) nationalists, who are behind the deaths of 31 people in Cap Skirring last week, are warning tourists not to

visit the region. According to the MFDC representative in France, they certainly take risks if they come to Casamance. Some days ago Senegalese Tourist Minister Mr. Jacques Baudin repeated that the Senegalese Government will ensure the safety of tourists as it always did in the past and in even more turbulent times.

Sierra Leone

Government Forces Retake Koidu, 10 Rebels Killed

AB0311090092 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] After six hours of pitched battles with rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) yesterday, our troops have again recaptured Koidu town and its surroundings. During the ensuing fight, reports say that large numbers of rebels were killed.

There were no reports of any casualties on the Sierra Leonean side and according to the secretary of state, Eastern Region, Lieutenant John Nyuma, the area is relatively safe. Lt. Nyuma has appealed to inhabitants, who had fled the area, to return and take up their normal duties.

Saturday's [31 October] attack, the second in less than two weeks by the rebels, Lt. Tom Nyuma said, was carried out by remnants of the same group who had earlier attacked Koidu town. Despite the fights to flush out the rebels, Lt. Tom Nyuma noted that after they had launched the offensive in Bumpo, it did not take them much time to overrun the NPFL rebels in the township of Yengema.

[Paris AFP in English in a Freetown datelined item at 0026 GMT on 3 Nov adds the following: "Ten rebels from the Sierra Leone Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), died Sunday (1 November) in a six-hour battle with security forces for the strategic diamond town of Koidu (250 km east of Freetown), a senior local official said Monday (2 November). The Secretary of State for the eastern region, Lieutenant Tom Nyuma said five of the dead insurgents belonged to the RUF and five to the NPFL. He denied reports that government forces suffered heavy casualties in the clash. It was the second rebel attack on the town in five days.

["Red Cross officials in Koidu said Monday that rehabilitation programme has already started although many of the leading diamond merchants in the area including Lebanese and Senegalese have fled the township."]

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